China Academic Library

Baoxu Zhao

To Build a Harmonious World

Ideal of Traditional Chinese Thinking

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

Springer

China Academic Library

Academic Advisory Board:

Researcher Geng, Yunzhi, *Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*
Professor Han, Zhen, *Beijing Foreign Studies University, China*
Researcher Hao, Shiyuan, *Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*
Professor Li, Xueqin, *Department of History, Tsinghua University, China*
Professor Li, Yining, *Guanghua School of Management, Peking University, China*
Researcher Lu, Xueyi, *Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*
Professor Tang, Yijie, *Department of Philosophy, Peking University, China*
ProfessorWong, Young-tsu, *Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA*
Professor Yu, Keping, *Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, China*
Professor Yue, Daiyun, *Department of Chinese Language and Literature, Peking University, China*
Zhu, Yinghuang, *China Daily Press, China*

Series Coordinators:

Zitong Wu, *Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, China*
Yan Li, *Springer*

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/11562

Baoxu Zhao

To Build a Harmonious World

Ideal of Traditional Chinese Thinking

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

Springer

Baoxu Zhao (1922–2012)
Department of International Politics
Peking University
Beijing
China

ISSN 2195-1853 ISSN 2195-1861 (electronic)
ISBN 978-3-662-43852-7 ISBN 978-3-662-43853-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4
Springer Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014946589
Sponsored by Chinese Fund for the Humanities and Social Sciences (本书获中华社会科学基金资助)

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publishers, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed. Exempted from this legal reservation are brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis or material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. Duplication of this publication or parts thereof is permitted only under the provisions of the Copyright Law of the Publisher's location, in its current version, and permission for use must always be obtained from Springer. Permissions for use may be obtained through RightsLink at the Copyright Clearance Center. Violations are liable to prosecution under the respective Copyright Law.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
While the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication, neither the authors nor the editors nor the publisher can accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may be made. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Introduction: Zhao Baoxu's Political Ideas in a Nutshell

Zhao Baoxu, a prominent scholar of political science, an international political scientist and educator, served as the senior professor of humanities and social sciences at Peking University. Ever since he began the research into political science at National Southwest Associated University, Mr. Zhao had been devoted to the study, research, development, and construction of political science. In 2012, the guru of political science in China passed away.

Going through the vicissitudes in both the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, Mr. Zhao witnessed and experienced the twists and turns in the birth and development of political science in China and participated in and promoted the restoration and advancement of contemporary political science in China. Roaming widely in the studies on social science, philosophy, politics, culture, and international relations, he spared no effort to explore the political nature and development trend of human society and the path to rejuvenate China and lead the nation toward a high level of civilization. He discovered the essentials to achieve the above goals. His rich and profound political thoughts are truly the intellectual treasure in the area of social culture and political science in China.

Academic Life

Zhao Baoxu, whose ancestral home was Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province, was born in Beijing on November 18, 1922. From September 1935 to July 1942, he studied in No. 2 Municipal Middle School of Beijing and Jingcun Private Middle School.

In his youth, he relentlessly pursued truth and brightness. He expressed his noble yearnings and ambitions in a poem: "I have devoted my one and only love to the

brightness. . .I searched my love in the dark night, spreading my wings to the dimly-lit candle. It would burn me, yet I have no regret for I am determined and destined to die for light."[1]

In 1942, when the then Peking University was under the control of the puppet Wang Ching-wei regime backed by Japanese invaders, he stormed out the darkness of Japanese tyranny and occupation by resolutely dropping out from the Chemistry Department of the College of Engineering. He traveled, over thousands of miles and through countless trials and tribulations, all the way down to Kunming where he was admitted to the Chemistry Department of National Southwest Associated University in November 1943. In 1944, to fight for the survival of our nation, he transferred to the Politics Department, learning politics from the very sophisticated scholars like Zhang Xiruo, Qian Duansheng, and Wu Enyu. In July 1948, he graduated with flying colors and became a teacher at his alma mater Peking University.

Mr. Zhao is a paragon of the glorious traditions of ing colors and became a teacher at , and sciencea and the excellent learning style of "diligence, rigor, pragmatism, and innovationnd the excellent learning style of "diligence, rigor, pragmatismr at his alma mater Peking University.ferred to the Politics Department, learning pthe Teaching and Research Office of Marxism and Leninism. Mr. Zhao taught the basic course of Marxism. From December 1954 to December 1957, he served as deputy director of the Teaching and Research Office of Marxism and Leninism, contributing a great deal to fostering the first batch of talents specializing in the theory and practice of Marxism after the founding of New China.

From January 1953 to December 1957, he was transferred to Zhaitang Peopleh Office of Marxism and Leninism, contributing a great deal to fostering the leader and later leader of the working group of cadres transferred from Peking University.

In 1960, the Department of Political Science was rebuilt in Peking University, making it the first of its kind in China since the founding of New China. As one of the founding fathers of the department, Mr. Zhao served as vice dean and acting dean. In 1964, Peking University renamed the Department of Political Science into the Department of International Politics and set up the Institute of Oriental and African Studies. Mr. Zhao acted as dean of the department and vice director of the institute, laying a solid foundation for discipline construction and talent cultivation of China's political science and international studies.

In 1966, the "Cultural Revolution" broke out. Impacted by the fierce political movement, Mr. Zhao was deprived of authority and forced to undergo reform through labor.

In June 1973, he was reinstated as director of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Peking University. In 1978, he was reappointed as dean of the Department of International Politics at Peking University. Although he was nearly 60 years old at that time, he had a deep sense of historical responsibility for

[1] Zhao Baoxu, *Confession of An Intellectual*; Zhao Baoxu, *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Pages 3–4, Orient Press, 1988.

discipline construction of political science and international politics and the course of education.

Mr. Zhao paved the way to and blazed the trail for the restoration of political science in the new era after the "Cultural Revolution." After Deng Xiaoping instructed that scholars should "hurry up to make up the missed lesson" in political science, Mr. Zhao founded the Chinese Association of Political Sciences with other political scholars in 1980 and established important academic associations such as Beijing Municipal Association of Political Science and Public Administration in 1988. In order to restore the discipline of political science, he enthusiastically expanded his research. In 1982, he edited the first textbook on principles of political science under the instruction of Marxism in New China, laying the foundation for the system of principles of Marxism political science in the new era. He took the lead in establishing the first doctoral programs of political theory and of international politics, thereby working as one of the few doctoral tutors in both political science and international politics. His students are among the first group of doctors of political theory. Besides, he trained many professional talents in political science and international politics, who become backbones for the development of political disciplines and the development of the country.

As a prolific scholar, Mr. Zhao practiced what he preached and made long-term and in-depth academic studies, which yielded fruitful academic results. For instance, he edited the book *Introduction to Political Science*, which heralded a new beginning of Chinese political science in the new era and cultivated generations of political learners. Subsequently, many of his works, namely, *The Revival of Political Science in China* (in English, German, and Japanese), all drew extensive attentions and won high recognitions from scholars and readers at home and abroad, becoming must-read books on Chinese political studies.

In 1988, to promote scientific political research in China, Mr. Zhao led the establishment of the Research Center for Contemporary China at Peking University. Now, the center plays an important role in providing advice and support to those conducting researches and studies on national governance strategy and public policy.

Thanks to concerns of contemporary issues, a strong sense of mission, and a global vision, Mr. Zhao was among the first scholars who reached out to the world and pioneered in political studies. Since 1981, he had been to more than 20 countries and regions, such as the United States, Germany, and Japan, introducing the development and current status of political science in China and giving publicity to the reform and opening-up policies and the achievements of socialism with Chinese characteristics. He served as an ambassador of a peaceful, friendly, open, and harmonious China. In the meantime, Mr. Zhao made great contributions to cross-strait academic exchanges. His commitment and contribution made him a renowned scholar of China's political science and international politics in interna-

tional academic circles. In 1985, Mr. Zhao was elected as member of the Executive Board of International Political Science Association, the first ever from the People's Republic of China.[2]

Being his crowning academic achievement, the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao are deeply rooted in his concern for the people, the nation, and the world. They are the legacy of scholars on political science in his generation, providing the clue to understanding and grasping the history and development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Origination of Thought

After sorting out the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao and tracing back to their formation and development, we could disclose three major sources of his thoughts:

1. Modern Transformation of Traditional Chinese Culture and Political Thoughts

When he was young, Mr. Zhao received a good education of traditional Chinese culture. By the time he grew up, he had acquired a profound understanding of traditional culture, particularly of Confucianism and Mohism. He was also dabbled with poem writing, calligraphy, painting, and opera. During academic research, Mr. Zhao always focused on traditional Chinese culture, a great feature of his study and an important source of his political thoughts. What he had learned from traditional culture and political culture of China had constituted the essentials of his own political ideas.

The political discourse of Mr. Zhao was studded with the elements of traditional Chinese culture. Meanwhile, his political comments and academic thesis also mirror the immense charm of traditional Chinese culture, for he skillfully and flexibly quoted Chinese proverbs, idioms, allusions, poems, and classics to make his points. Specifically, he appreciated "the pursuit of harmony" and "the rule of moderation." In his words, these are the essence of traditional Chinese culture.[3]

Moreover, in pursuit of socialism with Chinese characteristics, Mr. Zhao held a penetrating view on the dual nature of traditional political culture: "When we promote the marrows of traditional Chinese culture, we should also see its dross, for its downsides will certainly impede and constrain the cause of socialist construction. We must know that and come up with an effective remedy."[4] During the development of his political ideology, especially after he accepted, understood, and

[2] *In Memory of Professor Zhao Baoxu*, International Politics Quarterly, 2012, Issue 1. The article was written by the author according to the Chronicle of Mr. Zhao Baoxu and in reference to relevant articles on the life of Mr. Zhao.

[3] Zhao Baoxu, *In Pursuit of Harmony: An Academic Anthology of Zhao Baoxu*, FLTRP, 2008.

[4] Zhao Baoxu, "Popularize Education of National Conditions, Promote Research into National Conditions"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 79. Peking University Press, 2009.

mastered Marxism, Mr. Zhao applied Marxist values and methods and selectively absorbed the essence of traditional political culture. He analyzed it, abandoned its demerits, and modernized it, gradually integrating it into his own political ideology.

2. Absorption and Rejection of Western Political Ideology

In National Southwest Associated University, when Mr. Zhao was transferred from the Department of Chemical Engineering to the Department of Political Science, he took a selective course called *western political ideology*. "At that time, western political ideology had a certain effect on Mr. Zhao. The development of his political ideology went through three stages: it started with the systemic recognition of Marxism, followed by the re-understanding of the development of Marxism after the reform and opening up and the review of the development of modern Western political ideology and political science."[5]

In his early years, Mr. Zhao built up a professional knowledge base through learning of western political ideology. Later, he gradually accepted communism as the faith of life. Guided by dialectical materialism and historical materialism, he viewed western political ideology in a practical manner. In his twilight years, when he summed up his views on western international politics, he displayed an in-depth, scientific, and critical attitude. "We should study, analyze and evaluate western academic achievements seriously and practically so as to decide which are to be adopted and which are to be discarded. Firstly, we should know what they are about. Do not rush to judgment before we truly understand them. Secondly, we should rely on our own judgments to evaluate the content, whether it is true or not, not just parroting. Thirdly, even if they are proved to be true, we still need to verify whether they can be wholly or partially applied to China."[6]

As a matter of fact, it is the rational absorption and rejection of western political science, guided by the practical and realistic spirit of Marxism, that make Mr. Zhao's political ideology so rich in content, so epoch-making, and visionary.

3. Acceptance and Guidance of the Marxist Political Ideology

Back in National Southwest Associated University, Mr. Zhao began to concentrate his energy on Marxism. He recollected, "Mr. Wu (Wu Enyu) was my mentor when I became serious about the study of Marxism. In his class, I learnt the *Communist Manifesto* seriously for the first time."[7] Later, Mr. Zhao, enthusiastic about pursuing truth and academic study, chose Marxist politics as his lifelong research topic among many political theories, seeking the law of human politics and the goodness of an ideal society and public life. With the development of the New

[5] Xu Xianglin, Speech at the Seminar on Academic Thoughts and 87th Birthday Celebration of Zhao Baoxu, November 18, 2009.

[6] Zhao Baoxu, "Vigorously Promoting International Political Studies under the Guidance of Marxist Scientific System"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 60, Peking University Press, 2009.

[7] Zhao Baoxu, "In Memory of Mr. Wu Enyu"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 369, Peking University Press, 2009.

Democratic Revolution, Mr. Zhao kept studying Marxism, confirmed its scientific truthfulness, and took the ideology as his faith for life. This process sublimated his thoughts, transforming him gradually from a nationalist, patriot, and democrat into a Marxist. From then on, his political thoughts were dominated by the Marxist world view and methodology.

After the liberation of China, Mr. Zhao was in charge of the Teaching and Research Office of Marxism and Leninism at Peking University where he conducted in-depth study and systematic teaching of Marxism. In this way, Marxist political ideology, especially the ideas of scientific socialism, made up the principal content of his political thoughts.

At the same time, Mr. Zhao's research and teaching activities about Marxist politics advanced with the times. His understanding has been evolving with the political changes in China's political life and Marxism with Chinese characteristics. In his studies and teaching practices, Mr. Zhao kept learning about Marxism with Chinese characteristics and the ever-developing Marxism political ideology, an important part of his own political thoughts, according to the requirements of social practices.

After years of study, Mr. Zhao gained remarkable achievements in the Marxist world view, methodology, and political ideas. After the reestablishment of the political disciplines in China in 1980, he edited the first political writing in China, which epitomized the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and pioneered in sorting out and explaining the Marxist political theoretical system in the new era. With a good command and an extensive application of Marxist political concepts and approaches, his published essays and works kept abreast with time, reflecting his ingenious application and heartfelt understanding of the classics and marrows of Marxism.

Admittedly, the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao were also affected by some other factors, e.g., Buddhism. Nevertheless, the three factors mentioned above acted as the main sources. With historical development, social changes, and the passage of time, the three sources gradually integrated with each other, like streams running into the sea, and eventually shaped his political thoughts, which took Marxist political ideology as a scientific guide and the main content.

Main Content

Generally speaking, the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao mainly boast the following four interwoven aspects:

1. Patriotism is the base and the starting point of Mr. Zhao's political thoughts.

Patriotism is the starting point of Mr. Zhao's social and political cognition which guided him through the exploration of China's politics and governance. In the development of his ideas and concerns of reality, patriotism serves as an important foundation and the main lead, mirrored by his pursuit of national sovereignty and

unity, national independence, and prosperity throughout his political life and lifelong political research.

In the age of revolution, the pursuit mainly embodied his abhorrence of the dark rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism; his yearning for brightness, truth, and an ideal society; and his active participation in people's revolutions. After the liberation of China, the pursuit was demonstrated in his strong concerns for the independence of national sovereignty and Chinese unification and prosperity.

Mr. Zhao's patriotic feelings are deeply rooted in his ardent love for the people and history of China. When he was young, China was in a time of crisis. In order to get out of the darkness and pursue brightness, he traveled a thousand miles from the fallen city of Peking to National Southwest Associated University. His journey to the Southwest was actually a journey of heart, a pilgrimage to find dignity and prosperity of the people and the nation, and a display of his strong will to pursue his dreams.

As an undergraduate at National Southwest Associated University, Mr. Zhao first took chemical engineering as his major. However, amid domestic strife and foreign aggression, China had reached a point where its very existence was at stake. Mr. Zhao believed that political revolution could be a more effective way to serve and save the country. So, he transferred from chemical engineering to political science and took it as his lifelong academic career. At that time, the country was at risk, and the government was corrupted. "Faced with such a grim reality, any man of courage and uprightness would stand up for what is right."[8] In his fight, he gradually embraced the Marxist theory of revolution. His revolutionary patriotism was also shaped by books like Turgenev's prose poem collection *The Threshold*.

After liberation, Mr. Zhao's love for the nation was as ardent as always, and he expressed his strong concern for national sovereignty, unity, and development.

Sovereignty was the primary concern of Mr. Zhao for it is of overriding significance for modern states. Sovereignty has a direct bearing on territory, and sovereignty and territorial integrity together affect the unity of a state. Therefore, to any advanced intellectual in China who has experienced both war and peace and both division and unification, sovereignty is the foremost political concern.

After liberation, Mr. Zhao actively participated in the cause of socialism. His undeserved injustice suffering in the "Cultural Revolution" has never shaken his faith in the development of the state and rejuvenation of the nation. He was greatly inspired by the reform and opening up and the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. He maintained that Chinese reform and opening up would eventually lead to prosperity because the guiding principle was "seeking truth from facts and emancipating the mind."[9] Mr. Zhao was confident about socialism with

[8] Zhao Baoxu, *Confession of An Intellectual*; Zhao Baoxu, *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Pages 3, Orient Press, 1988.

[9] Zhao Baoxu, "The Prospects for China"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 98, Peking University Press, 2009.

Chinese characteristics. "The goal of socialism is to pursue an ideal society, rational, democratic, free, equal and prosperous, which fits human development," said he.[10]

Patriotism was the starting point in his life journey. He always pursued an ideal, bright, and noble life pursuit and lifestyle. Under the guidance of Marxism, his patriotism was closely connected to his quest for democracy and science, so his academic ideas were two sides of the same picture, an organic integration between Chinese nationalism and people's democracy. In the principle of patriotism, he pursued national independence and longed for a wealthy, powerful, and civilized nation. Politically speaking, the yearning for an independent nation was manifested in his conviction on nationalism, while yearning for national prosperity and civilization, in his relentless strife for people's democracy and an ideal society.

2. Marxism is the body and guideline of his political thoughts.

Firstly, Marxist political science is the main content of Mr. Zhao's political ideology.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Mr. Zhao pursued light and truthfulness and gradually established faith in communism and became a Marxist. After many years of study, he formed a deep understanding of and gained profound attainments in the Marxist world outlook, methodology, and political ideas. The main content of the theoretical system and political ideology established and illustrated by him was Marxist political theory.

A comprehensive and precise understanding is the premise to adopt Marxist political ideology as the central theme. In this regard, Mr. Zhao figured out that to understand and grasp the ideas and methods of Marxism, one must be faithful to the original ideas and grasp the essence of Marxism. In his view, the overall system and content of Marxism, in fact, are within the field of political science. "Fundamentally speaking, Marxism is a theory of political science. It mainly solves the problem in political practices."

Marxist political theory constitutes the main part of Mr. Zhao's political ideas. It is well demonstrated in *Introduction to Political Science*, the first book about the principle of political science, edited by himself in 1980 after the reestablishment of the political disciplines in China. Adopting the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and in reference to the Marxist political system mentioned in Deng Chumin's *New Politics Outline*, the book illustrated the Marxist political theoretical system for the first time in the field of Chinese political science in the new era.

Secondly, Mr. Zhao insisted on the guidance of Marxism on Chinese political science research.

[10] Zhao Baoxu, "The Prospects for China"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 99, Peking University Press, 2009.

Mr. Zhao pointed out that the research on political science in China, "As on any other social science, needs a clear guideline, which is Marxism."[11]

Why must political studies in China follow Marxism? The primary cause is the class nature, practicalness, and scientificalness of the theory. As a result, Mr. Zhao suggested that when learning political science, "We must be subject to the guidance of Marxism, otherwise, we could not produce scientific results or even get lost."[12]

Thirdly, Mr. Zhao advocated promoting the development of Chinese Marxist political science in research and practice.

Mr. Zhao pointed out that the development of Marxist political science with Chinese characteristics must be based on the development of China's social and political practice. "First of all, we must be clearly aware that when doing political science study we Chinese people must have both feet on the ground: we should be familiar with the situation in China, get deeply involved in the society, stay close with the grass-roots and conduct more investigations. If we lose the grip on reality, we are unable to detect problems, let alone solving them."[13]

Marxism advocates practical materialism in nature. Therefore, the development of Marxist political science must abandon dogmatism. Mr. Zhao indicated that "Marxism is not a dogma. The dogmatic approach disgraces the theory. They say Marxism is in crisis. They are wrong. It is dogmatism that is in crisis. When dogmatism is in danger, it is actually a good news because the 'crisis' offers a 'turn of fortune' for the distorted and misinterpreted Marxism to regain its 'vigor.'"[14]

Practicalness ensures the contemporariness of Marxist political science. On this, Mr. Zhao proposed that "the study of political science must 'advance with the times'. Being the fundamental principle of Marxism, the four letter slogan was proposed by the central government to counter current malpractices. It means our understanding must conform to objective reality. With changes in objective reality, our understanding should evolve accordingly."[15]

Fourthly, Marxist political science needs to absorb the essence of other cultures through the exchange of ideas to realize continued development.

---

[11] Zhao Baoxu, "Vigorously Promoting International Political Studies under the Guidance of Marxist Scientific System"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 58, Peking University Press, 2009.

[12] Zhao Baoxu, "Implementing the Spirit of 13th CPC National Congress, Forge a New Era in Political Science Studies: Address to Inaugural Meeting of Beijing Political Science and Public Administration Association," *Scientific Socialism*, 1988 Issue 2.

[13] Zhao Baoxu, "A Political Primrose: Celebrating the Publication of *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*," *Chinese Social Sciences Quarterly* (Hong Kong), November 1992, 1st Issue.

[14] Zhao Baoxu, "Vigorously Promoting International Political Studies under the Guidance of Marxist Scientific System"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 59, Peking University Press, 2009.

[15] Zhao Baoxu, "A Century of Political Science in China (1900~2000)," *Southeast Academic Research*, 2000, Issue 2.

Mr. Zhao said, "Marxism has always been inclusive, not exclusive. Exclusiveness leads to inactivation, and inactivation impedes development."[16] "We should try to enrich Marxism by absorbing today's scientific and cultural achievements just as how classic Marxism scholars summarized and absorbed such achievements in the past. Otherwise, Marxism cannot develop continuously. Only a constant development can keep its scientificalness and vitality."[17]

In light of the characteristics of the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, Mr. Zhao pointed out that "The idea of inclusiveness is in line with Deng Xiaoping's words about open-mindedness: 'as long as it works and suits us, we should learn it no matter it's from East or West; an exotic seed can grow on Chinese soil and yield fruits.'"[18]

3. People's democracy and people's republic are basic convictions and stands of Mr. Zhao.

People's democracy and people's republic are distinctive features of Mr. Zhao's political philosophy and political thoughts.

In the formation and development of his political thoughts, Mr. Zhao turned his yearning for people's democracy and people's republic into clear convictions. The primary feature and foundation of people's democracy and people's republic are to put people first. Throughout his academic life, Mr. Zhao's focus on studies on social politics and political science is actually a concern for the interests and well-being of the people.

Secondly, people's democracy, which means making people the real masters, not only implies the political ideas of popular sovereignty but also the political notion of building up a democratic republic for the people. During the revolutionary period, Mr. Zhao, with a firm political belief, resolutely joined the cause of democratic revolution for the interests and liberation of the people. After the victory of the revolution and the founding of New China, Mr. Zhao was longing for "a stable, highly efficient socialist regime where the people are real masters of the country."[19] However, democracy and the rule of law suffered a heavy blow in the "Cultural Revolution." The regression in the decade-long turmoil broke his heart. Luckily, his will in people's democracy was never shaken. Learning from the painful lesson of the "Cultural Revolution," Mr. Zhao became more convicted in people's democracy after the downfall of "the Gang of Four." He spent years compiling the oral history of the "Cultural Revolution," which scientifically

[16] Zhao Baoxu, "Vigorously Promoting International Political Studies under the Guidance of Marxist Scientific System"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 61, Peking University Press, 2009.

[17] Zhao Baoxu, "Crisis and Turning Point of Theory"; Editors: Wang Puqu, Li Tao, *60 Years of Localization of Marxism in China*, Page 77, Intellectual Property Publishing House, 2010.

[18] Zhao Baoxu, "Education of Foreign Students in Early Days of Peking University"; Zhao Baoxu, *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 287, Peking University Press, 2009.

[19] Zhao Baoxu, "No Complacence in Political Science Studies." Zhao Baoxu: *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 51, Peking University Press, 2009.

summarized the lessons China learned from the 10-year turbulence and promoted socialist democracy and the rule of law.

Thirdly, he put public interest first and take the world as his own duty. Mr. Zhao believed that, nurtured in oriental culture and political values, Chinese intellectuals should put the country, the people, and public interest first. He said, "An intellectual should mainly have the following attributes: 1. they should have a concern for the future and destiny of their motherland, a sense of crisis, and a mission to take the world as their own duty by contributing to the advancement of the society and prosperity of their country. 2. Intellectuals should think independently. 3. Intellectuals should have a free mind."[20]

Fourthly, the political spirit of people's republic also lies in a harmonious society and the coexistence of diversity. For Mr. Zhao, the core of people's democracy that he pursued and advocated is the political idea of a harmonious coexistence of the unity and diversity among the people.

As for political relations among the people, Mr. Zhao emphasized on "harmony," in the sense of the unity of diversity and contradictoriness. Early in the 1960s, he started from epistemology and elaborated the dialectical relationship between "harmony and unity." He said, "Harmony in diversity makes a good point. Only when everyone is brave enough to pursue truthfulness, to voice different opinions, to listen to others' views and to have thorough study and discussion on all the ideas can we mobilize all people with a unified purpose for our shared mission. If we say we want 'unity', then the unity we want is the 'unity' of principle set in this context."[21]

In twilight years, his political science research boasted a more vocal and direct expression of people's republic and harmony. He unequivocally said that "politics is an art of reconciliation."[22] Apart from expounding politics of different natures under different social backgrounds, he particularly illustrated the art of coordinating various differences in people from different social classes and groups after they took power.

Mr. Zhao further stressed that social harmony and a harmonious society depend on democracy and the rule of law. The truth of politics as "an art of reconciliation" was demonstrated through achieving unity in diversity, reconciliation, and eventually a harmonious society. The only path to gain the truth is to promote democracy and the rule of law.

Ideas like people first, rule of law and democracy, public interest first, unity in diversity, and harmonious coexistence constitute the basis and nature of Mr. Zhao's political thoughts. These ideas are opposite to "autocracy," different from "liberal

[20] Zhao Baoxu, "*The Roles of Intellectuals in Social Development*." Zhao Baoxu: *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 170, Peking University Press, 2009.

[21] Zhao Baoxu, *Confession of An Intellectual*. Zhao Baoxu: *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Page 202, Orient Press, 1988.

[22] Zhao Baoxu, "Political Science and Harmonious Society," *Journal of Peking University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), November 2005, Issue 6.

democracy," and vary from "aristocratic republic." Consequently, we can summarize Mr. Zhao's political thoughts as people's republic and democracy.

4. The organic integration of scientism and humanism is the academic principle and rule of life of Mr. Zhao's political thoughts.

Mr. Zhao pursued a colorful inner world, an intellectual life, and an ideal society. He took the quest for science and truth as his academic principle and rule of life.

In his later years, Mr. Zhao reflected on the principles and rules that guided him throughout his life. He said, "I was deeply influenced by two books. One is *The Threshold*, a prose collection by Ivan Turgenev. The other is *A New Account of the Old Tales* by Liu Yiqing which was written during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The Russian girl, the martyr in *The Threshold* inspired me to join the revolution; fascinated by *A New Account of the Old Tales*, I adored purity and naturalness, and despised dogmas and preaches by instinct."[23]

Later, when he became a Marxist, his pragmatic and scientific spirit was elevated from perceptual cognition to rational knowledge. Centered on dialectical and historical materialism, he emphasized on a practice-based seeking for scientificalness and truth. That's why his academic ideas and thoughts were characterized by a combination of pragmatism, scientism, and humanism.

Mr. Zhao attached particular importance to the study of political science, explicitly pointing out that "Adherence to scientism is critical to advance political science in China."[24] In his books, articles, prefaces, book reviews, and speeches at meetings, he repeatedly stressed that when building socialist political civilization and conducting scientific studies on political science, we should be willing to pursue truth, good at finding truth, and brave to uphold and defend truth; we should not blindly follow doctrines in books and orders from the superior, but follow truths and facts.

Therefore, in his research and his life, Mr. Zhao grasped the truth in social and political life, abided by the laws in social and political development, discovered rules and truth with a scientific attitude and method, and upheld and defended truth.

The first prerequisite to realizing scientificalness in political study is to grasp the essence and scientific method of Marxism, which is to seek truth from facts. In accordance with the essence, Mr. Zhao staunchly advocated that in order to ensure scientificalness in political study, we had to take a pragmatic attitude in the research and truly base the study on social reality and social needs.

The realization of scientificalness in political study requires in-depth study and full respect for the laws and scientificalness of discipline development. On analyzing the fundamental mission of academic studies, Mr. Zhao commented that though

[23] Zhao Baoxu, *Confession of An Intellectual*. Zhao Baoxu: *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Pages 3–4, Orient Press, 1988.

[24] Zhao Baoxu, "Political Science and Harmonious Society," *Journal of Peking University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), November 2005, Issue 6.

political study had the function to supply information and promote government policies, the fundamental task was to inquire into the laws of the development of political phenomena. In the aspect of advocating and respecting scientificalness, Mr. Zhao repeatedly argued, "To attain scientificalness in political science studies, we cannot sacrifice scientificalness to political publicity. Political study can serve the reality only by relying on its own scientificalness. If we blindly follow doctrines in books and orders from the superior, and get baffled by the realpolitik or if we waiver in our stands, following the trend like sheep, then our political study will become a pseudoscience. To serve realpolitik with pseudoscience will only end up in disservice and disgrace the study of political science."[25]

Besides, the realization of scientificalness in political science studies requires a global vision and various communication and references. In this respect, Mr. Zhao held that "political science studies, like any other science, must be world-oriented and study and verify new theories and new methods of foreign political science for future references."[26]

While stressing scientificalness, Mr. Zhao paid a lot of attention to humanism in political study. He believed the humanism of social science studies was also law-governed and was possible to be integrated with the scientificalness. He also pointed out that social science must be studied from the perspective of different cultures in different countries and societies, "Unlike natural phenomena, any social phenomenon is rooted in human behavior. Thus, they can be defined as the summation of human behavior within a certain period of time and under certain circumstances. The biggest challenge to a social scientist is often the undetermined psychological factors. But it doesn't mean social phenomena are totally random. For example, some western policy analysts tend to say, 'It's hard to analyze policies of communist nations for they don't play by the rules.' In fact, the behavior of anyone, any party, and any state has a rule. It's only because you don't understand their mindset and the reasons for their measures that you don't think they play by the rules. But the fact is that they play by their rules, just not your rules."[27]

Mr. Zhao's particular emphasis on humanism in political study is also reflected by his view to combine different methods in studying politics in the light of humanistic and scientific features of political and social phenomena. Such emphasis gives evidence to his insight into humans' sense and sensibility and his advocacy of the integration of rational science and perceptual humanism in studies.

[25] Zhao Baoxu, "A Century of Political Science in China (1900~2000)," *Southeast Academic Research*, 2000, Issue 2.

[26] Zhao Baoxu, "A Century of Political Science in China (1900~2000)," *Southeast Academic Research*, 2000, Issue 2.

[27] Zhao Baoxu, "A Century of Political Science in China (1900~2000)," *Southeast Academic Research*, 2000, Issue 2.

Internal Structure

Mr. Zhao's political thoughts not only have rich and profound contents but also have a strict and consistent logic, which is of distinctive dialectical features, making his political thoughts well structured, complete, and systematic. The characteristics are mainly reflected in the following aspects:

1. From the perspective of the essential contents, his political thoughts reflect a dialectical relationship between difference and consistency.

Deeply rooted in patriotism, the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao gradually transformed into a firm belief that only socialism could save China and only socialism with Chinese characteristics could make China a strong and prosperous nation. In this way, he associated patriotism with Marxism ideologically in terms of objective, path, content, and logic.

"Democracy" and "science" were the banners of the May 4th Movement. From the perspective of evolving Marxism and Chinese social and historical process, said Mr. Zhao, real and universal people's democracy should be the head banner of patriotism in the era of revolutions. "As the banner of the revolution, "Democracy" is a means of the revolution through which to overthrow the reactionary regime."[28] After the revolution was succeeded, "we were facing the task of building a socialist nation,"[29] and democracy became the goal and the nature of socialism. Therefore, democracy has become the approach to "enrich" and promote patriotism.[30] Similarly, in light of the world outlook and methodology of Marxism, science is the correct understanding of the nature and the rule in social and political development. Thus, Mr. Zhao's political thoughts, based on patriotism, with Marxism as its main body and guidance and people's republic and democracy as its goal, are dialectically interwoven, unified, and complete.

2. From the perspective of epistemology, Mr. Zhao's political thoughts are of distinctive dialectical features.

Guided by dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Mr. Zhao's political thoughts impart the wisdom and radiance of dialectics in his academic works and essays. He skillfully employed the dialectics of unity of opposites in his comments on society, politics, history, life, work, and art. He analyzed the unity of opposites dialectically, involving the relationship between universality and

[28] Zhao Baoxu, "May 4th Movement and the Banner of Revolution," *Theoretical Study and Research*, 1996, Issue 6.

[29] Zhao Baoxu, "May 4th Movement and the Banner of Revolution," *Theoretical Study and Research*, 1996, Issue 6.

[30] Zhao Baoxu, "May 4th Movement and the Banner of Revolution," *Theoretical Study and Research*, 1996, Issue 6.

expansibility of contradictions,[31] the relationship between the speed and stability of work,[32] the relationship between sticking to principle and daring to fight and master the tactics and fight tactfully,[33] the mutual transformation of things under certain conditions,[34] the relationship between diversity and unity,[35] the concept of harmony in diversity,[36] the relationship between harmony and contradiction,[37] the relationship between building and obeying rules and renewing and developing rules,[38] the relationship between the courage to think and act and scientific attitude,[39] the relationship between the main stream and tributaries of a matter,[40] the relationship between the comprehensive and partial understanding of an issue,[41] etc. Besides, he believed in "moderation," holding that the "quality" of anything was bound by a limit on "quantity" and excessive quantity would eventually change the quality.[42] He also had his own interpretation about having complementary advantages and enhancing advantage and avoiding disadvantage during development.[43] All these ideas glint with the glamour of dialectics. For instance, he made a truly insightful and penetrating dialectical analysis of the relationship between the ideas of "moderation" and "harmony" in Japanese culture and the collective consciousness of the difference between their own and others, the bushido spirit, and the Mikado system.[44]

Empowered by dialectical logic thinking, Mr. Zhao was able to express his political ideas more lucidly and to grasp the complex political situations accurately and elaborate on social and political development rules insightfully. Applied with

[31] Zhao Baoxu, "Have a Long-term Perspective." Zhao Baoxu: *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Page 215, Orient Press, 1988.

[32] Zhao Baoxu, "Speed Is Precious in War," *Frontline*, 1964, Issue 8.

[33] Zhao Baoxu, "Evergreen Pine and Cypress," Guangming Daily, July 1st, 1965.

[34] Zhao Baoxu, "Have a Long-term Perspective." Zhao Baoxu: *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Page 219, Orient Press, 1988.

[35] Zhao Baoxu, "Different Styles," *Frontline*, 1964, Issue 8; Zhao Baoxu, "Unity of Diversity," *Journal of Literature and Art*, 1956, Issue 15.

[36] Zhao Baoxu, "Different Styles," *Frontline*, 1964, Issue 8; Zhao Baoxu, "Harmony and Unity," *People's Daily*, June 12, 1962.

[37] Zhao Baoxu, "Harmony and Unity," *People's Daily*, June 12, 1962.

[38] Zhao Baoxu, "Starting from 'Newborn Calves Are Not Afraid of Tigers,'" *People's Daily*, January 17, 1962.

[39] Zhao Baoxu, "Starting from 'Newborn Calves Are Not Afraid of Tigers,'" *People's Daily*, January 17, 1962.

[40] Zhao Baoxu, "A Black Spot on a White Bean Curd," *Guangming Daily*, April 4, 1959.

[41] Zhao Baoxu, "A Black Spot on a White Bean Curd," *Guangming Daily*, April 4, 1959.

[42] Zhao Baoxu, "'Harmony Is Precious', 'Moderation' and 'Bushido' Spirit: Reflections on Japanese Political Culture," *Journal of Peking University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), 1989, Issue 4.

[43] Zhao Baoxu, "How to Cultivate a Master in University," *Qunyan*, 2009, Issue 3.

[44] Zhao Baoxu, "'Harmony Is Precious', 'Moderation' and 'Bushido' Spirit: Reflections on Japanese Political Culture," *Journal of Peking University* (Philosophy and Social Science Edition), 1989, Issue 4.

dialectical logic thinking, his political analysis demonstrated both the careful weighing by the wise and the wit of a great philosopher.

3. From the perspective of the relationship between thoughts and life, Mr. Zhao's thoughts mirror the dialectical interaction between his academic life and his lifelong academics.

It has been the historical mission for the advanced Chinese intellectuals of the twentieth century to pursue both academic excellence and moral principles. Mr. Zhao has fulfilled his mission and achieved the dialectical unity between academic learning and life; his learning and research spanned over war and peace, revolution and construction, smooth advancement and twists and turns. The different periods of time have mellowed his political thoughts. The main elements and basic content of his political thoughts actually tell us the tremendous changes that a generation of Chinese scholars has gone through.

Mr. Zhao's patriotic feelings were fermented in national crisis and developed in the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the historical trend of modernization. His advocation of Marxism started with his pursuit of truth and brightness and matured in the New Democratic Revolution and socialism revolution and construction. His yearning for people's republic, scientificalness, and humanitarianism, the legacy from the May 4th Movement, budded in the National Southwest Associated University and developed into a reflection and an attempt to build a harmonious society and the rule of law under the guidance of Marxism with Chinese characteristics.

Therefore, his political thoughts come from not only his rational thinking about social and political situations but also his own life experiences and practices. Weathering countless ups and downs with modern China, Mr. Zhao's political ideas are the crystallization of his spirit and his life, an evidence for his dialectical thinking and lifelong pursuit; he wrote articles to express his belief and traveled afar in search of truth. "Professor Zhao Baoxu is a vivid display of brilliant academic achievement and a splendid life."[45]

4. From the perspective of the relationship between thoughts and character, the political thoughts of Mr. Zhao, along with his character, personality, accomplishment, and sentiment, reflect the consistency between his academic attitude and moral quality.

[45] *Speech of Professor Pan Guohua, Executive Vice President of College of International Relations, Peking University at the Celebration Marking the 55th Anniversary of Teaching Career and 80th Birthday of Professor Zhao Baoxu*, Editor: Hao Ping, *Everlasting Spring on the Podium*, Page 5, Central Party School Press, 2005.

In his opinion, one has to become a good person before becoming a learned scholar. A perfect scholar must have "academic attitude, profound knowledge, and moral character."[46,47] Mr. Zhao followed and exemplified the principle throughout his life and asked his students to follow his steps. Therefore, when we try to understand his political thoughts, we also catch a glimpse of his own character and morality. Being a passionate learner from childhood, Mr. Zhao witnessed countless twists and turns and never lost his ambition, his yearning for truth, his will to learn, his lofty ideas, and his pursuit of excellence. Back in National Southwest Associated University, he learned a lot from the old generation of professors like Wen Yiduo, Zhang Xiruo, Qian Duansheng, and Wu Enyu, who had rich knowledge and noble character. What he learned from his teachers paved him the way to a great scholar, academically and morally. An ordinary scholar as he is, he took some extraordinary tasks; he embarked on a backbreaking journey to inherit, promote, and popularize the academic researches and to maintain the bloodline of the prestigious Chinese scholars of the old generation. Mr. Zhao was a decent man with an open mind and great virtue. He treated people with sincerity and kindness. He had uncorrupted integrity, like a clear autumn lake. He was friendly and easygoing, like a summer breeze. He was a paragon of teacher. He was well versed in Chinese and western cultures. He was versatile, a good poet and painter. He had little regard for fame or fortune, living up to the name he had given to himself: "Baoxu" (which literally means holding on to nothing). Mr. Zhao manifested an integration of toughness and perseverance, and tolerance and lenience, as well as the coexistence of serious and pragmatic work style and a simple and forthcoming character. He boasted a perfect balance between tradition and modernity, east and west, work and life, morality and academic pursuit, all mirroring the great character and charisma of a guru.[48]

5. From the perspective of academic and political practices and historical development, Mr. Zhao's political thoughts reflect the dialectical relationship between political science and practical politics.

From his political thoughts, we can see that he deeply cares about the nation and the people, even the destiny of mankind. "My hair has turned grey yet my passion still burns like fierce fire." He maintained that "Students of social science should be keen to solve new problems in social practices and try to think, analyze and study for the solution under the guidance of Marxist philosophy and principles."[49] "As a

[46] Zhao Baoxu, "Sketch Book of Learning Books and Thesis"; Zhao Baoxu, Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts, Page 156, Orient Press, 1988.

[47] Zhao Baoxu, "Sketch Book of Learning Books and Thesis"; Zhao Baoxu, Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts, Page 157, Orient Press, 1988.

[48] *In Memory of Professor Zhao Baoxu*, International Politics Quarterly, 2012, Issue 1. The article was written by the author according to the Chronicle of Mr. Zhao Baoxu and in reference to relevant articles on the life of Mr. Zhao.

[49] Zhao Baoxu, "It Is Harder to Teach Ethics than Classics: On the Moral Education of Doctorial Candidates," Academic Degrees and Graduate Education, 1988, Issue 2.

scholar, he was never satisfied with staying aloof to social affairs. On the contrary, he actively practiced his theory in real world. Although he was always busy writing or giving lecture, he still fulfilled his sense of mission that 'writings are for conveying truth.'"[50] In his long journey to seek truth and wisdom, he had been as diligent as ever and as positive as ever, applying his knowledge to practice.

In his opinion, academic research and real politics are closely related and mutually independent. Developed in different rules, the two influence each other. On one hand, political academic research must serve politics. "Culture and education are boiled down to a reflection of the economic base, which are to serve politics."[51] On the other hand, political science must be relatively independent and yield truly scientific results so that it can serve politics in a better way. That is the dialectical relationship and logical connection between the academic research of politics and real political practices.

Conclusion

Shaped in the long, tortuous, and turbulent historical process and matured in the embrace of Marxist outlook and methodology, Zhao's political thoughts were constructed and systematized step by step as he sought for independence and prosperity of the Chinese nation and were perfected and improved as he excelled in both self-cultivation and academic research. Therefore, his political thoughts are the product of history and life, reflecting the shared struggle of "the intellectuals of a generation in the great age of revolution."[52]

His rich political thoughts, originated in a special social culture and historical background, have many aspects to explore, for instance, their role in transitioning previous studies and future studies, their status both as a watershed and a bridge in political study, their development and innovation, and their great progress. His thoughts involve a grand and magnificent journey for political wisdom and truth and a profound and concise understanding of the relationship between all things and the root causes of all events. What this article mentioned is only a fraction of his profound political ideas. Further studies are needed to unlock this endless treasure. Meanwhile, as the clues of his political ideas, Marxist outlook and methodology guided him to seek for truth, brightness, national independence, national prosperity, and people's well-being, as well as the ultimate freedom of human beings. He started with the learning of traditional Chinese culture and later acquired western

[50] *Speech of Professor Min Weifang, CPC Party Secretary, Peking University at the Celebration Marking the 55th Anniversary of Teaching Career and 80th Birthday of Professor Zhao Baoxu*, Editor: Hao Ping, *Everlasting Spring on the Podium*, Page 3, Central Party School Press, 2005.

[51] Zhao Baoxu, "First Song of Triumph: On the Great Victory of the Party's Education Policy from the Changes in Peking University in Last Ten Years," *Frontline*, 1959, Issue 19.

[52] Zhao Baoxu, *Confession of An Intellectual*. Zhao Baoxu: *Journey: Baoxu Study Manuscripts*, Page 1, Orient Press, 1988.

political thoughts and then embraced Marxism. Guided by Marxism with Chinese characteristics, he probed into the right way of revolution and construction, searched for the rule in political science and governance, and reflected on his life and political study, thereby promoting the development of the discipline of political study of Chinese characteristics.

Once, Mr. Zhao exalted his own teacher Mr. Qian Duansheng, "Mr. Qian is such a great patriot that the rise and fall of the nation has always been on his mind. Going through setbacks and successes he shared a common destiny with the motherland." "Throughout his life, Mr. Qian has integrated scientificalness and patriotism in his academic research and political practice."[53] The comment on his teacher is actually a faithful description of Mr. Zhao's academic achievement, moral standards, and literary thoughts.

At the end of 2012, Mr. Zhao passed away. Professor Wu Zhipan has written a poem of eulogy, which concisely and accurately summed up Mr. Zhao's life, academic achievement, character, temperance, and spirits. The couplet goes: "With a pure heart, he spent ninety years in pursuit of independent spirit and free mind; through two setbacks, he traveled eight thousand miles in search for profound learning and noble character."

Wang Puqu
Professor, School of Government Peking University

[53] Zhao Baoxu, "Sincere Heart of Love for Motherland, Profound Faith to Serve the County: Mr. Qian Duansheng in Peking University," *Political Science and Harmonious Society*, Page 348, Peking University Press, 2009.

Contents

1 To Build a Harmonious World: Ideal of Traditional Chinese Thinking 1
1.1 "Valuing Harmony" and "The Doctrine of the Mean" 2
1.2 Anti-militarism (*feigong*) 3
1.3 *Art of War* by Sun Zi (*Sunzi bingfa*) 3
1.4 Concluding Remarks 4

2 The Prospects for China 5
2.1 Are the Present Chinese Reforms Headed Toward Capitalism or Socialism? 5
2.2 Can China Succeed in Its Reform? 9

3 The Socialist Market Economy: An Important Breakthrough 13
3.1 Marxism in China: Crisis, Favorable Turn, and Vitality 13
3.2 Capitalist Reform or Socialist Reform? 14
3.3 Economic Reform and Political Reform 14
3.4 From Planned Economy to Market Economy 15
3.5 Some Initial Economic Success in Recent China 16

4 The Revival of Political Science in China 19
4.1 Why Did China Abolish Political Science? 19
4.2 Why China Restored Political Science After the Fall of the "Gang of Four" 24
4.3 Recent Developments in Chinese Political Science 26
4.3.1 New Political Science Organizations 27
4.3.2 CASS's Political Science Institute 28
4.3.3 Political Science Training 29
4.3.4 Instructional Materials 30
4.4 Conclusion 30
4.4.1 Serving Contemporary Politics in Practice 31
4.4.2 Our Feet in China; Our Eyes on the World 32

5 Causes and Consequences of the Cultural Revolution 35
5.1 Causes of the Cultural Revolution 35
5.2 Consequences of the Cultural Revolution 39

6 Political Transition: From "the Rule of Man" to "the Rule of Law" 43
6.1 Conditions for "The Rule of Man" 43
6.2 The Relationship Between Law and the Party Rules 44
6.3 To Build a Socialist Country Ruled by Law 45
6.4 Towards the Rule of Law 47

7 Political Science Studies in Contemporary China 49
7.1 The Reviving of Social Science Studies in China 50
7.2 Current Status of Political Science Study in China 52

8 "Revolution" and "Development"—A Comparative Study of Chinese Diplomacy in the Mao Zedong Era and in the Deng Xiaoping Era 57

9 Sino-American Relations: A Long View 63

10 Prosperity of Chinese Buddhism and Its Contributions to World Peace 71
10.1 Flourishing Development of Buddhism in Contemporary China 71
10.2 Joint Efforts in Safeguarding World Peace 76

11 On "Buddhism of Human Society" 81

12 Foreword to the Chinese Version of A. Doak Barnett's *China's Far West: Four Decades of Change* 85

13 Preface to the Collection of Scalapino's Lectures 89
13.1 Professor Robert Scalapino and China 89
13.2 Intellectual Communications Between China and the US 91

14 Ch'ien Tuan Sheng: A Patriotic Scholar 95
14.1 Journalist Activities 97
14.2 Southwestern Associated University Period 98
14.3 Post Liberation Period 99
14.4 Last Years 102
References 103

15 Professor Wang Tieya As I Know Him 105
15.1 Science Heritage of Ancient China Is Abundant 106

Chapter 1
To Build a Harmonious World: Ideal of Traditional Chinese Thinking

I am extremely honored to attend this meaningful International Nonkilling Forum. I would first like to thank our mutual friend Professor Glenn Paige and his capable wife Glenda Paige. Their extraordinary organizing ability and spiritual appeal have made this conference possible in such a short time. Specialists and scholars from nearly 20 countries, including Nobel Prize laureates, have been invited to the beautiful Hawaii to discuss a theme that has been in the global spotlight for some time: the theme of nonkilling. The specialists and scholars present today are of different nationalities, religions, political ideas, and ideologies. One may wonder what brings us together as a whole. I believe it is the common wish to free the people of the world from war and violence.

I come from a country with one of the most ancient cultures in the world—China, a country that is attracting global attention for its steady and peaceful development. During its successful process of reform and opening up to the outside world, China has been making great effort in integrating with the rest of the world. Meanwhile, it has been taking more and more responsibilities in the international community. As we all know, in the process of developing her economy and strengthening her national capacity, China has been striving to build a harmonious society internally and was the first country to bring up the lofty goal of "building a harmonious world." China practices what it preaches by working hard toward this goal. The country has made it clear time and again: we strive for peaceful coexistence with other nations and political systems, common prosperity in economic development, mutual complement in cultural exchanges, and cooperation in maintaining security.

China raised the proposal for building a harmonious world at the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2005 not as an expedient measure. The idea

Speech at the "First Global Nonkilling Leadership Forum" in Hawaii, the USA, October 20, 2007.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_1

originated from the nation's peace-loving tradition developed over thousands of years. In the 100 years or so before 1949, the Chinese people suffered huge humiliation and pain inflicted by foreign powers. Such suffering has made the Chinese people cherish even more the value of harmony.

Many traditional Chinese thoughts and theories concern peace and harmony. Here, I would like to share with you my understanding of the relevant thoughts of three ancient philosophers:

1.1 "Valuing Harmony" and "The Doctrine of the Mean"

These are two of the most prominent features of Chinese traditional thought. Confucius (551–479 B.C.) said, "Application of the rites is to promote harmony." He advocated the doctrine of the mean to avoid going to the extremes. He also said, "Men of virtue are able to live in harmony while respecting individual differences." Mencius (372–289 B.C.), a great Confucian scholar, emphasized human harmony as far more important than natural conditions for the success of any undertaking.

The idea of "the doctrine of the mean" dates back to the legendary emperors Yao and Shun (before 2070 B.C.). When Emperor Yao resigned the throne to Shun, he advised the latter to rule and behave according to the way of the mean. Shun followed Yao's words and thereby won praise from Confucius (*The Doctrine of the Mean*). Later, when Shun transferred his authority to Yu, the first emperor of the Xia Dynasty (2070–1600 B.C.), in very much the same way as Yao did to him, he passed on the same caution as well. The same teaching was handed down as a political principle and as a moral norm from dynasty to dynasty.

What Confucius did was to further promote the doctrine of the mean by advocating it as the highest moral principle. Up to the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.), some disciples of Confucius compiled *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*zhongyong*) by sifting and elaborating relevant ideas and teachings of Confucius. The book elucidates the central theme at the very beginning: "Inclining to neither extreme is called *zhong* (the middle); lasting for long is called *yong*." Thus *zhongyong* means "the doctrine of the mean should be applied forever." When talking about *zhonghe* (equilibrium and harmony), the book says, "Equilibrium is the great root from which grow all human actions in the world, and harmony is the universal path that all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, then a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish." (Chapter I, *Doctrine of the Mean*).

The *Doctrine of the Mean* has greatly influenced Chinese ethics and ways of thinking, and the people's conduct. It has played a decisive role in casting the peace-loving and anti-violent national character of the Chinese people.

1.2 Anti-militarism (*feigong*)

Mo Zi (468–376 B.C.) was one of the best known ideologists in ancient China. His most famous proposition was: "To love each other (*jian'ai*)" and "anti-militarism."

Mo Zi said: "If people in the world all love one another, love other people as they love themselves and regard other families as their own, there will be no more conflict between families. If people regard other countries as their own, there will be no more wars between nations. If people in the world love one another, if countries do not fight with each other, and if families do not oppose each other, there will be no thieves. The monarch and officials will be kind to the people, the people will be loyal to them, the father will be kind to the son and the son will be loyal to the father. The world will then be peaceful and in good order. So the sages who take establishing good world order as their mission all advocate love and denounce evil."

Mo Zi was against "war between nations," "conflict between families," "cheating between people," "the strong bullying the weak," "the majority bullying the minority," "the noble bullying the humble," and "the wise cheating the fool."

Mo Zi's anti-militarism derived from his advocacy of love for all. He said, "Someone went into other people's gardens and stole fruit. He was condemned by the people and punished by the government. Why? Because he had hurt others to benefit himself. As for those who steal dogs and pigs of others, their behavior is worse than those who steal fruit. Why? Because they do more damage to others, are more unkind, and their crime is more serious. As for those who attack cities and countries of others, their crime is far worse than those who steal private property. The invading monarch abuses the name of bravery to get himself unjustified benefits. No crime is greater than that."

But Mo Zi was only against aggression; he was not against a just war. He thought that a country must have military power and that a war of defense should be fought against invasion.

1.3 *Art of War* by Sun Zi (*Sunzi bingfa*)

Sun Zi's Art of War is believed to be the earliest book on the art of war in China. It is alleged that the book was written by Sun Wu, a strategist who lived in the late Warring States Period. In the same period lived another strategist named Sun Bin. *Sun Zi's Art of War* that we read today is generally believed to be a collection of writings on the art of war, started by Sun Wu and finished by Sun Bin.

However, what is really amazing is that the authors of a book summing up war experience had no favor for violence or war. Rather, the authors believed that war should be avoided as long as there is still room left for political or diplomatic maneuvers:

> The best policy is to attack the enemy's strategy. The second best way is to disrupt his alliances through diplomacy. The next method is to attack his army. The worst policy is to attack his city. Attacking cities should be the last resort when there is no alternative.
>
> –*Sun Zi's Art of War*

They added that "military troops are the most harmful tools under heaven, while boldness is the worst trait in this world."

Mencius regarded wars fought for the capture of cities and territory as cruel and, therefore, against love. Those who were skillful at fighting should suffer the heaviest punishment. He said:

> When contentions for territory break out, they lead to the slaughtering of men till the fields are filled with the dead. When fight for a city takes place, it leads to the slaughtering of men till the city is filled with corpses. This is what is called devouring human flesh for the sake of land. Even the death penalty is not enough for such a crime. Therefore, those who are skillful at fighting should suffer the severest punishment.

1.4 Concluding Remarks

Peace and development are the two major themes of our times, and they are in the fundamental interest of all the peoples of the world. Today's world is far from harmonious, even though the Cold War ended quite long back. To work toward the goal of a harmonious world, the ideas on peace and harmony of the ancient Chinese philosophers certainly provide us much food for thought.

Chapter 2
The Prospects for China

Since the time the Soviet Union collapsed, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe that were closely following it have changed their banners one by one. How about China? The first dominoes have fallen down, so how is it that China, which was behind them, still stands firm? China has thus become a hot topic. However, there are more complex questions. Not only is China not falling over, but its economy is developing miraculously. Unexpectedly, during their reform the Chinese have thrown away the traditional planned economy, and have adopted a market economy. Well then, does this not mean the country is getting on a capitalist track? Is China reforming toward capitalism or socialism?

Today, I will discuss two questions according to my own personal understanding of the situation.

2.1 Are the Present Chinese Reforms Headed Toward Capitalism or Socialism?

Several years ago, a Hong Kong journal reviewed China's reforms, saying, "Not to reform means to await death, while to reform means to court death." The phrases clearly meant that socialism basically does not work. If one firmly upholds socialism, then is one not simply awaiting death? If one wants to reform and to change socialism, then one is said to be turning into a capitalist. One is then promoting socialism's doom. The next issue of the journal printed a letter from a reader, which applauded the humor of the wisecrack about reforming socialism. The remark was truly witty and it made people laugh. Nevertheless, wisecracks and funny sayings do not necessarily agree with facts. They do not necessarily reflect the truth. This remark stems from a mistaken understanding of what ultimately constitutes "socialism." And even more unfortunately, this mistaken understanding of socialism is

Lecture given at the Pomona College, USA, in 1995

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_2

exactly the same as that held by some conservative "Leftist Grandfathers" in China. They oppose reform, believing that the only genuine and model socialist systems are those implemented in the past by China and by the Soviet Union, and that all of the world's remaining socialist systems have fallen under the capitalist system. According to this kind of understanding, capitalism and socialism are antagonistic systems, which are as incompatible as fire and water: if you do not gobble me up, then I will gobble you up. However, actual developments differ. This kind of understanding was left behind long ago by the wheels of history.

The world is changing. The wheel of history rolls on. People's understanding of things is continuously being perfected.

First of all, let us take a look at capitalism. The capitalist system has undergone constant change in the past 300 years. It has constantly improved itself. If one compares the capitalism of today with that of the latter half of the eighteenth century, one will notice that it has long changed beyond recognition. If one says that improvements carried out and changes made in a certain type of system imply that the system has lost its intrinsic qualities and, therefore, is no longer itself, well then, who knows how many times capitalism has died in the past three centuries? If the capitalist system can change continuously and yet still can be called capitalism, well then, why can't a socialist system be reformed? Why is it that as soon as it is reformed it is said to have lost its intrinsic qualities? And why is the death knell of socialism sounded so loudly?

The question lies in what constitutes socialism, and how we recognize it.

I cannot make a long-winded, pedantic discussion here. Stated simply, as everyone knows, the word "socialism" was first coined by an Italian priest. He opposed individualism and believed that human beings have a social nature. Therefore, "socialism is the objective demand of human historical development" (See German scholar Karl Greenbeger's *Against Socialism*, 1830). Thirty years later, the utopian Socialists Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, and Charles Fourier began to use the term "socialism" to oppose economic and moral injustices and unfairness in capitalist society at that time. They tried to establish a socialist system of public ownership superior to the private ownership system of capitalism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels criticized Owen and others for their fantasy of socialism. At the same time, they noted that the most ideal social system of the future would be communism. The communism in their minds was a system of public ownership to replace private ownership of the means of production, in which productivity was highly developed and in which there would be no commodities or currency. In a communist society, products would be distributed to each according to his worth; each would work as much as he could and take as much as he needed. By that time, classes and class struggle would be abolished and the state would wither away. People would develop in a fully free manner. The free development of the individual would be the precondition for the development of all mankind. This was communism in the minds of Marx and Engels. They believed that before communism could be realized, human society had to undergo a "transition stage," namely, socialist society. So, then, what is the fundamental difference between socialism and communism? The answer lies in their different distribution systems. Under

communism, distribution will be based on one's needs. Under socialism, distribution is based on one's work.

I do not intend to quote further Marxist writings. However, when Vladimir Lenin was summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, he clearly described what socialism was in his view. To Lenin, socialism meant: (1) implementation of a system of general elections and, when necessary, the people have the right to dismiss and replace officials; (2) the wages of officials must not exceed those of skilled workers; and (3) the people are empowered to supervise the bureaucracy and thoroughly abolish bureaucratism, thereby manifesting fully the people's democracy (p. 266, vol. 3, *Selected Works of Lenin*).

Lenin became leader of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. At the beginning he emphasized that socialism must abolish private ownership of the means of production, abolish commodity production, and abolish currency. But later, this turned out to be inapplicable. In particular, the Bolsheviks faced enormous political and economic difficulties at the time. Later, we have come to see that no one has been able to realize Marxism's earliest conception, no matter where: the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, or China. Fundamentally, it is not possible to abolish commodity production and currencies.

We can see from the above discussion that:

1. Socialism emerged in opposition to injustices and unreasonable phenomena brought along by capitalism at the time. In the past 100 years, socialism has been pursued and yearned for by many progressive people. Why? Mainly because the pursuit of a reasonable, democratic, free, equal, and wealthy society suits the ideals of humanity's development. This is the aim pursued by socialists. This goal determines the intrinsic nature of socialism.
2. With regard to what many people have envisioned what socialism ought to be, beginning with Marx and down to the present: abolishing commodity production, abolishing currency, having a planned economy, and so on. Well, these are all means. Why did Marx propose replacing the private ownership system with public ownership of the means of production? This was based on his understanding of the social system at that time: namely, all evils and injustices within the capitalist system originated from private ownership. However, socialists do not struggle in pursuit of public ownership. The public ownership system is a means to attain an ideal society. One can have various means to attain a goal. If one day practice fully proves that public ownership cannot resolve social injustice, well, then, why not change to a different means? The question of a planned economy or a market economy is just the same. Socialist countries can also adopt a market economy; this really is a great breakthrough in the development of socialism. Marx proposed a planned economy, in which all production would be carried out according to a plan, and actual demand would determine how much should be produced, because he was targeting the anarchy in capitalist production at the time, such as overproduction and dumping wheat and milk into the seas while some people went hungry. Marx really had a good concept, but practice has proved that it actually does not work. This is because at

the levels of modern science and technology as well as in terms of administrative management, the various needs of all the people of a state cannot be calculated out clearly. Thus, the planned economy has become a subjective, blindly directed, and bureaucratic economy.

While the goal of an ideal society pursued by socialism does not change, the means to realize socialism, whether proposed by Marx or later by others, can change. Capitalism engages in market economy. Socialism has flung away the planned economy and adopted a market economy. If this is progressing toward capitalism, why is it that in many capitalist countries the means employed by many socialist countries are adopted and yet one does not say that they are advancing toward socialism? For example, one can cite housing allocation in Singapore, limited capital and high capital accumulation taxes in several countries of Northern Europe, including many Western countries tending toward welfare states, partial use of nationalization, and so on. The changes in these nearly socialist societies do not give rise to the question as to whether capitalism is doomed in these countries.

China has taken many detours and made some mistakes in the process of establishing socialism. At present, China still firmly upholds the construction of a socialist society with Chinese characteristics. China is not at all making a fresh start to pursue capitalism. Of course, I am confident that when China successfully builds up socialism with Chinese characteristics, it will be superior to capitalist societies. It is just as Deng Xiaoping said during his famous Southern Tour in 1992, "In short, if we want socialism to achieve superiority over capitalism, we should not hesitate to draw on the achievements of all cultures and to learn from other countries, including the developed capitalist countries, all advanced methods of operation and techniques of management that reflect the laws governing modern socialized production." It is my understanding that "socialism with Chinese characteristics" means two things: (1) start out according to China's actual circumstances and (2) all effective things can be brought for use in China—anything in the world that is good, regardless of whether it is from the East or the West.

Actually, if we ponder a bit more deeply, we will discover that the kind of capitalism that Marx analyzed deeply back then has now changed into something unrecognizable. The type of socialism that Marx envisaged has not yet made an appearance on earth. The perfect socialist model has not yet taken shape. At present, the relationship between socialism and capitalism is not like the antagonistic propaganda of the Cold War in which the two were as incompatible as fire and water. As early as the 1960s, the Dutch economist Jan Tindbergena, a famous Nobel Prize winner, said, "right now the capitalist and socialist systems are both in the developing stage. Many changes make it clear that there is a trend of convergence. It can even be proven that both kinds of systems are developing toward the best of certain circumstances, and developing toward a more perfect system than previously understood as purely capitalist or purely socialist." A developing trend has appeared in which the basic differences between the two will gradually lessen or be eliminated. The dynamism is one of "convergence." While the Soviet Union collapsed, China's development has conformed to this trend of convergence.

Now let me turn my attention to the second issue, that of China's reforms.

2.2 Can China Succeed in Its Reform?

Ten years ago, American scholars held a symposium in Washington, D.C., on the possible success of China's reform. It was said that some scholars argued that the reform would fail. They cited examples of many reforms that failed in Chinese history, including those by the Nationalist Government and by the Communist Party of China since it came to power. Although opinions at the symposium did differ, they concluded that the contemporary reform was bound to fail. Scholars who have a deep understanding of China disagreed with such a pessimistic viewpoint.

A few years later, the international media suddenly proclaimed a miracle, saying "the giant, China, is awakening" and "China's abrupt rise is compelling." For example, the May 10, 1993 international edition of the *Time* magazine carried 32-page special coverage reporting on swift economic growth and the take-off of high-grade, precise and advanced technologies in China. (For example, China holds a leading position in laser optics, biological techniques, superconductivity, radioactive isotopes, etc.) This magazine report was titled "China: The World's Next Superpower." On April 5, 1994, the French newspaper *Figaro* said that China was the only country in the world now striving to slow down the pace of its GNP rate. Since 1992, China's economic growth has maintained a stable rate of around 13 %. The government has tried to reduce it to 10 %. Such growth in China has to affect the rest of the world. In fact, China provides a real stimulus for certain industrial sectors in the world.

In the past 15 years of reform, there have been relatively large increases in China's economic growth and comprehensive national strength. This is obvious and no one can deny it. Since reform and opening up to the outside world, China has successfully completed three Five-Year Plans (namely, 1981–1985; 1986–1990; and 1991–1995). In the 8th Five-Year Plan (1991–1995) period, gross industrial and agricultural output values increased as follows: 1991, 8 %; 1992, 13.6 %; 1993, 13.4 %; and 1994, 11.8 %. For the first 9 months of 1995, the aggregate rise in gross industrial and agricultural output value was 9.8 %. The predicted annual growth rate is 10 %. Thus, China continues to remain in the front ranks among national growth rates.

Between 1978 and 1992, China's GNP increased 2.6 times. Five years ahead of plan, in 1995, China attained the initial goal of quadrupling its 1980 GNP by the year 2000. (In other words, if 1980 had a base index of 100, then by the year 2000 it should increase to 400). This growth is all the more outstanding compared to the overall situation of economic recession in Western countries.

A little more than 1 month ago, on September 28, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 14th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China formulated China's 9th Five-Year Plan (1996–2000). The main objectives for national economic and social development were defined as follows: "to quadruple 1980's per capita GNP by the year 2000." It must be noted that the per capita GNP is calculated according to the actual population. Even with strict implementation of the government's family

planning policy, by the year 2000 the population will be 300 million larger than in 1980. Under the condition of an additional 300 million people, it is by no means an easy task to quadruple the per capita GNP. Nevertheless, those who understand the actual situation generally believe that the task proposed for the 9th Five-Year Plan can be accomplished.

Concurrent with rapid economic growth, China has set up an industrial system that is complete in range. China ranks among the leading countries in the world in resource development, grain, coal and other basic industries. Since nationwide reform and opening up to the outside world, development has remained swift in the Pearl River delta, the Yangtze River delta, and Shanghai's Pudong Development Zone. The inland regions are gradually catching up.

In line with increases in people's incomes, there has been a transition in people's lives from having just enough to eat and wear toward being comparatively well-off. Consumption, production, and investment demands are rising fast. At the same time, China's trade is growing rapidly. Correspondingly, China's economic system and structures are changing steadily.

The phrase cited above, "China's abrupt rise is compelling," is correct. The momentum for growth is strong. Of course, there are problems along with development. For example, weak links in China's economic growth include a lack of capital, obsolete infrastructure, and backward agriculture. Moreover, large state-owned enterprises have poor economic results and weak vitality. Furthermore, the past 2 years have seen currency inflation, hidden unemployment, and other problems.

Knowing the above problems but underestimating the actual ability of China to resolve them, an American scholar recently published an article entitled "The Coming Chinese Collapse." He predicted that China would collapse in 10–15 years.

I think that whoever understands China's actual situation will disagree with that conclusion. Nonetheless, I believe that China should welcome articles such as the one just mentioned. Although the prediction and conclusion are wrong, such articles will help China remain cool-headed in her advance toward further success. China should not become dizzy with her achievement. Still, these articles may play a role in misleading the American people and American decision-makers.

Although the article mentioned above does not deny China's present smooth economic growth, the author does not believe that the fruits of economic growth are being shared by the broad masses of the Chinese people. Moreover, the article mentions that inflation has not been curbed effectively and that the relationship between the government and the people is not good. He contends that China's present government is weak and powerless; it has lost both its former legitimacy and its actual enforcement abilities; it does not trust the intellectual elite; and it cannot attain full employment. These are all causes of dissatisfaction in society. The author contends that direct factors leading to China's collapse will be: contradictions that will arise between those who have become rich under the current economic conditions and the poor, and between those who have become rich and the government, thereby in turn aggravating contradictions between the poor and the government. Furthermore, unbalanced regional development will create an

aimlessly wandering mass of migrants, which in turn will create contradictions between migrants and local residents. All of these contradictions, when based on conflicts between the central government and regional interests, will be exploited by local bureaucrats and locally stationed armies, leading to the destruction of the central government's political power.

I would say that while the problems mentioned by the author exist in China, the real issue is that some of these problems actually are not as serious as he imagined. He regarded some as an overall situation when they are local. Other problems he mentioned have been resolved already. Still others are in the midst of being effectively resolved.

For example, it is not precise to say that the fruits of economic growth are not being shared by the broad masses of the people. After some people get rich first, the fruits of the economy are not equally shared among the broad masses of the people. Nevertheless, standards of living have generally been raised for all the people, in both urban and rural areas. In line with the growth of the rural economy, the lives of farmers have been improved remarkably. Taking housing for example, 60 % of farming households have built new homes in the past 15 years. Between 1979 and 1994, Chinese farmers built around 10 billion square meters of housing, three times the area of the previous 30 years. However, since their quality is poor, the government is helping 900 million farmers build better houses.

We consider now the matter of currency inflation. Since the beginning of 1995, the Chinese government has made curbing inflation a major economic task along with strengthening and improving macroeconomic readjustments and controls. In September 1995, the rise in retail commodity prices fell back to 11.4 % from 23.2 % in December 1994. For the first and second quarters of 1995, the average rise in retail commodity prices was 16.6 %. It is predicted that for the entire year of 1995, these prices can be curbed to around 15 % rise. Of course, at present, the price rises are still rather high; yet, compared to the 23.2 % of 1994, they are clearly falling back. When compared with other countries undergoing economic transition—for example, in Eastern Europe, Poland's currency inflation was 33 % while it was reforming, and Russia's was 200 %—we cannot say that price controls are ineffective in China.

Let us turn now to the question of the relationship between the Chinese people, the Communist Party, and the government. The 1993 issue of the *Time* magazine mentioned earlier emphasized in particular that there was not a hint of decline in the Communist Party of China. Moreover, the number of Party members was still rapidly increasing. By the end of 1993, Party members numbered more than 52 million.

Recently, another article diametrically opposed to the opinion that China is verging toward collapse was published. Entitled "Why China Will Not Collapse," the article quotes a December 1990 survey done by Professor Andrew Nathan of Columbia University and Dr. Tianjian Shi of Duke University. I quote, "The two researchers asked respondents whether they considered their government's treatment of its citizens to be fair. The majority of the Chinese respondents, 57 %, considered their government fair, which is only slightly lower than the percentage in Germany (65 %) but is higher than in Italy (53 %) and Mexico (42 %)."

Because of time limit, I will say no more regarding such matters as the sharp contradictions between the central and local governments or the unbalanced economic growth in the coastal and inland regions of China.

Why do some people often mistakenly view Chinese affairs? I think that this is because they do not see issues in dynamic or developing terms. They consider matters as fixed and unchanging. They are also often fond of making inappropriate historical analogies. Furthermore, they do not think that Deng Xiaoping's China is very different from Mao zedong's China. There will also be many changes between Deng's China and the post-Deng China. All of these changes are gradual. They are not so clear superficially, but they are greatly different in substance.

To return to my initial point in the second half of this speech, everyone can see that China is rising abruptly. This is compelling. Nevertheless, not everything is fine. The oncoming force is tremendous; like a mountain torrent breaking loose, it does not always take a predictable path. When a mountain torrent breaks loose, it scatters the earth and makes rocks fly. Mud and sand are carried along. (In other words, the good and bad are mingled.) A mountain torrent will attack and destroy some homes, people, and animals. Reform also brings along some bad things, such as greed for money, gambling, and prostitution. Flies and mosquitoes come along too. Even within China, some people abhor the vulgar world and sigh that the present is not as good as the past. This is very natural. This is the way that history has developed. The mighty torrent is overpowering, yet the heavens will not collapse.

Society will readjust itself. Early Marxists committed a fatal mistake, namely, although they rather accurately foresaw the corruption and crises of early capitalism, what is unfortunate is that they underestimated or even fundamentally overlooked the capacity of capitalism to overcome crises by itself. Today, I hope that foreign friends who are concerned with developments occurring in China's present reform do not make the same mistakes.

Chapter 3
The Socialist Market Economy: An Important Breakthrough

History is an endless long river. People struggle for a better life. Looking from a long historical perspective, there is no doubt that the whole world is changing for the better. Almost 50 years have passed since the Second World War, and world history has taken an abrupt turn in the past few years. Many Western politicians, and some scholars also, call out in happy astonishment: Fall of Communism! But it is too early to draw such a conclusion. The dust of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has not settled yet; China and some other socialist countries are still developing in their own historical way. Whether this is the final result of Communism is still an open question.

3.1 Marxism in China: Crisis, Favorable Turn, and Vitality

Marxism is a science of revolution. First of all, it is a science and must conform with reality; Marxism recognizes that the world is constantly changing and developing. So it must be permanently self-developing and self-revising in order to keep in pace with reality. Marxism is also full of a revolutionary and critical spirit. And Marxism has absorbed elements from the splendid scientific and cultural fruits of mankind in its development.

Taking Marxism as a myth rather than a science not only triggered ideological crises in socialist countries but also brought about serious chaos and upheavals there. The decade-long Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in China was the most convincing evidence. The unprecedented, world-shocking 10-year-long calamity awakened the Chinese people, and they began to ask: What is science? What is Marxism? They eventually came to a better understanding of Marxism, with the criticism against the Two Whatevers—"We will stand firmly by whatever Chairman Mao decided, we will adhere persistently to whatever Chairman Mao

Lecture given at the Pomona College, USA, in 1995.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_3

instructed" (see the co-editorial of *People's Daily*, *Red Flag* and *Liberation Army Daily*, February 2, 1977), with the nation-wide debate over "practice as the only standard of testing truth," and the rise of the doctrine "black cat or white cat"—"A cat that catches mice is a good cat no matter black or white."

3.2 Capitalist Reform or Socialist Reform?

A Hong Kong magazine commented China's reform in this way: "Not to reform means to await death, while to reform means to court death." In the next issue, some readers wrote to cheer the humorous comment. It really sounds witty and funny. However, witty and funny as it is, in fact it is based on a quite out-of-date understanding. Unfortunately, it is this understanding that is shared and deadly defended by those "Leftist Grandfathers." Their reasoning is as follows: For several decades and even till the present, only the socialist system in China, the Soviet Union, and other East European countries can be called genuine, typical "socialism." All the other societies in the world belong to the category of capitalism. According to this understanding, capitalism and socialism are considered to be mutually exclusive and irreconcilable and hostile to each other. The practical development has thrown such an understanding far behind the wheels of history. The world is changing, and history is progressing. And people's understanding of things is also improving. For more than 300 years, capitalism has been under constant change and transformation. Today's Western world, compared with itself in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has changed beyond recognition. If capitalism had lost its nature because of a single reform, it would have died for hundreds of thousands of times.

What can we learn from history? Perhaps it has shown us that socialism can only develop through constant self-revision in practice. The most fundamental point does not lie in one or two ways (or forms) of doing things but in the principal spirit, that is, the pursuit of a rational, democratic, free, equal, and affluent ideal society. This is the lofty goal for many generations and cannot be achieved within a short period of time. And it is hard to avoid frustrations or paying some "tuition fee." The most important thing is to summarize the experience and lessons: a fall into the pit, a gain in the wit.

3.3 Economic Reform and Political Reform

China's reform is a comprehensive reform, involving all social aspects. It requires redistribution of economic benefits and reintegration and readjustment of political power among different strata, groups, and individuals in the society. The reform process certainly involves certain frictions, controversies, and contradictions.

Political reform and economic reform should be pursued simultaneously. This argument is persuasive in theoretical terms. Till now, it could not be implemented in reality. The reason is that the resistance of the hardliners to political reform is very strong, and the whole game will be lost if political reform breaks down. At present, the primary demand of the public is to live a better life rather than to establish Western-style democracy in China. In 1989, the reason why the public went to demonstrate in the streets was that they could not put up with the inflation, corruption, and abuse of power of some bureaucrats. They were not for votes.

In China, only economic development can pave the way for overall reform. The process should be something like economic reform leading to economic activism, growth of the private sector of the economy, formation of a middle class, political awakening, and then universal political demand. Political democratization should be a gradual process.

3.4 From Planned Economy to Market Economy

After a 10-year debate, at last, the Fourteenth National Congress of the Party made a decision: The aim of our economic structural reform is to build a structure of socialist market economy. This is really an important breakthrough in Marxism.

1. Marx and Engels' Socialism: public ownership plus three no's (no commodity production, no exchange of commodity, no currency), plus distribution according to work. The society adjusts production by "planning."

   Lenin tried hard to construct a socialist society without commodity production, without exchange of commodity, and without currency, but he failed. Then came the "New Economic Policy." He believed that commodity production would be abolished gradually as socialism developed.

   Stalin carried on Lenin's point of view and built a pattern of planned economy, the Soviet pattern.
2. China followed the example of the Soviet Union after 1949. Although Mao and his colleagues had made some additions, all of them upheld that the planned economy was the main body of a socialist economy, and the market was only a supplement.
3. From the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party to the Fourteenth National Congress of the Party (altogether 14 years long), there were many steps forward until Deng Xiaoping confirmed recognition of a market economy.

"Market economy does not belong to capitalism only," Deng said in the spring of 1991, and following his word, the Party made a decision to pursue a market economy. The whole country has been revitalized since then.

3.5 Some Initial Economic Success in Recent China

Generally speaking, China's economy has developed in a fairly smooth way. The economy of the coastal areas is growing rapidly. Under the shadow of the worldwide economic recessions, China is among the few regions maintaining high growth rate. The Eighth National People's Congress made decisions on the separation of government from enterprise, the establishment of a "stock system," and changing "government-run" enterprises into "government-owned." The economic atmosphere is favorable nowadays.

1. The gross national product (GNP) of 1992 was RMB 2,393.8 billion yuan, representing a growth rate of 12.8 % over the previous year.
2. Comparison of three economies (Tables 3.1 and 3.2).
3. Comparison of international competitive ability of three countries in a transformation process (Table 3.3).

Table 3.1 Comparison of three economies I

Target / Time / Country	Average GNP growth (%)		Average export growth (%)		Average inflation rate (%)	
	1980s	1990-1991	1980s	1990-1991	1980s	1990-1991
China	7.62	4.85	14.49	9.87	8.15	1.29
Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia	0.59	−8.60	2.70 (Without Soviet Union)	5.39 (Poland, no other country)	64.39	180.07

Table 3.2 Comparison of three economies II

Target / Country or Region / Year	Average GNP (%)					Average export growth (%)					Average inflation rate (%)				
	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Mainland of China	8.3	10.6	11.2	8.0	9.0	2.6	34.5	17.8	12.7	13.9	6.0	7.3	18.5	14.0	9.5
Hong Kong of China	11.9	13.8	7.4	6.0	4.5	17.4	37.0	30.3	10.5	12.0	2.8	5.5	7.5	10.0	9.0
Republic of Korea	11.7	11.1	11.0	7.6	6.7	28.4	36.3	29.2	20.3	15.3	2.8	3.1	7.1	5.5	5.5
Singapore	1.8	8.8	11.1	7.5	6.0	0.9	28.2	32.0	15.1	8.7	−1.4	0.5	1.5	2.2	2.5
Taiwan of China	10.6	12.4	6.8	6.2	6.5	29.6	34.8	14.0	12.0	13.8	0.7	0.5	1.3	2.8	3.6

Table 3.3 Comparison of international competitive ability of three countries in a transformation process

Element / Country	National economic strength	International-ization	Role of government	Financial circums-tance	Infrastructure	Level of management	Technology	Structure and mentality of population
China	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1
India	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	2
Russia	3	3	3	2	1	3	3	3

Note: 1 stands for the strongest, while 3 stands for the least strong

Chapter 4
The Revival of Political Science in China

As an independent basic social science, the study of politics occupies an important position among all the social sciences. In 1952, however, China abolished political science teaching and research. This was a mistake that is now being corrected. The country has reestablished the field of political science in recent years.

When a historical event is shown to be mistaken, people often tend to describe it as very absurd and unimaginable, as though to demonstrate how confused the people were at that time compared with how smart we are now. Such a simple attitude, however, will not help us in understanding the realities scientifically nor will it help us in learning from the lessons of history, and should therefore be avoided.

This chapter describes both objective conditions and the way people thought, both in the early 1950s and after 1976. It deals with two opposite events: first, the abolition of political science in China three decades ago, and second, its current revival.

4.1 Why Did China Abolish Political Science?

First, let me review the development of Chinese political science before 1949.

In ancient China, there was attention to the study of politics, political theories, political systems, and the administration of the state; many treatises and documents have been preserved down the ages. Later, because the feudal society stagnated, the Qing Dynasty became decadent and moribund and China fell far behind in the development of politics, economy, military affairs, culture and science. This was also the case for the study of politics.

Lecture given at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1982, published in *Political Science*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Fall 1984, by the American Political Science Association.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_4

In 1840, the imperialists, using Western guns, forced open China's doors. After that, Chinese society gradually became semi-feudal and semi-colonial in nature. At the same time, however, she also began to import Western science and culture. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, modern Western political science was introduced into China. The first Chinese book dealing with Western political science is thought to have been published around 1900. Entitled *The Study of Politics*, it was a translation from Japanese of lectures by a German professor who had taught at the Tokyo Imperial University.

In 1903, the Capital Academy (the predecessor of present-day Peking University) was the first Chinese college to offer a course on politics in its curriculum. Later, as many other institutions of higher learning came into being, departments of political science were established. According to incomplete figures, there were some 40 schools in 1948 throughout China, with political science departments that trained specialists.

Well-known Chinese political science professors, many of whom had received their advanced training in the West, included the following: Ch'ien Tuan Sheng (Qian Duansheng), Ph.D. (1924) from Harvard, where he taught befor returning to China; the late Hsiao Kung-chuan (Xiao Gongquan), who taught for many years at the University of Washington (Seattle); the late Deng Chuming, a Marxist; and Zhang Weici, Gao Yihan, Divson Hsueh-feng Poe (Pu Xuefeng), and others.

Of the works on political science published during this time (the 1930s through 1940s), the better known ones include Ch'ien's *Government and Politics of China* (English edition, Harvard University Press, 1950); Hsiao's *A History of Chinese Political Thought* (volume 1, translated into English by F. Mote, Princeton University Press, 1979); and Deng's *Outlines of New Political Science*, an early and influential work that used Marxist theory to study political science issues.

Besides these achievements, Chinese political scientists established the Chinese Political Science Association in 1932, and it held three conventions successively in 1935, 1936, and 1942. In 1946, the Association had a membership of 140.

This, briefly, was the situation with respect to political science teaching and research in China before 1949. Generally speaking, it can be said that pre-1949 Chinese political science research accomplished several feats. Some well-known scholars emerged who published valuable works, and a number of specialists in political science were trained.

There were two problems, however. First, of the publications, many were devoted to introducing Western research. Few dealt with Chinese problems, and even fewer were specially concerned with the study of actual Chinese political problems. Second, of the students trained in this field—other than the extremely few who had opportunities to go abroad for further study and who found work teaching in Chinese universities after their return—the vast majority of graduates had difficulty in finding suitable careers.

Why then, after 1949, did political science not remain as an independent discipline? The answer lies in the problems of thinking and understanding as well as the objective conditions shortly after Liberation.

First, at the time, many Chinese believed that social sciences in China should be thoroughly reformed. Their reasons were as follows: Most of Chinese social sciences at that time had been learned from the West. From the Marxist view, however, because Western social sciences did not follow the principles of historical materialism as their theoretical foundation (e.g., a focus on problems of the forces and relations of production, the base and superstructure, and class struggle), they could not carry out essential analyses of social phenomena. Although Western social sciences could make very careful observations, even detailed descriptions, of certain concrete social phenomena, they were not capable of reaching a knowledge of the laws and not able to stand at the summit of human historical development from which to view the situation as a whole. At the time, however, this point of view was only held by members of the Communist Party of China and a minority of Marxists.

The vast majority of Chinese social scientists half-believed and half-doubted this assessment. But the main reason most of them accepted the necessity of reforming Chinese social sciences had to do with an entirely different point: Most Chinese social science research at the time closely followed, even copied, the West's. There was very little research on Chinese problems; there were even some Chinese scholars who knew nothing about Chinese problems. The works by Professors Ch'ien and Hsiao mentioned previously were excellent achievements, but such works were very few. Many professors indiscriminately copied and recited the lectures of their Western teachers. Some who taught administration and administrative laws could recite British and American laws backward and forward but knew virtually nothing about the actual administrative problems of China. They had no interest in such research, nor, at the time, did they have the proper conditions under which to do it.

This problem was manifest not only in political science research but also in other social sciences. Of course, there were also exceptions. For example, Professor Fei Xiaotong (Fei Hsiao-t'ung), a sociologist, investigated Chinese villages, an outstanding case of research on actual problems of China. At that time, however, this kind of research was rare.

The phenomenon of copying Western things and not understanding Chinese conditions did not arise accidentally—it was a practice determined by the semicolonial nature of Chinese society at the time. Certain areas of research were concerned with Chinese problems, for example, studies of problems of the constitution, criminal law, civil law, and other subjects. But the content of this research was intended largely to support and propagate the laws of the old society. And, of course, after 1949 there was no market for such studies.

Because of these two points, everyone felt at the time that social sciences should be thoroughly transformed. When the People's Republic of China was just established, however, reform of social sciences was not a matter of urgent priority.

Thus, the most acute contradiction became manifest in the classroom. Indeed, in teaching social sciences, the universities were faced with a serious crisis.

At Peking University, for example, at the time (1949–1951), the School of Law had three departments—Law, Politics, and Economics. In the Law Department, what should the professors teach now? In the past, they had taught Roman law, the Napoleonic codes, the so-called Constitution of the Republic of China, and various laws and important decrees of the Nationalist Government. The latter items were summed up in a subject called "the Constitution and Legally Constituted Authority."

As everyone knows, after Japan was defeated in 1945 and after two and a half years of Civil War, the Nationalists called for peace talks in early 1949. But their demand for talks had a precondition, namely, that the Communist Party of China (CPC) should recognize the so-called Constitution and authority of the Nationalist Government. The CPC responded with eight conditions. Among them, the most important item was the abolition of the Constitution and the authority of the Nationalists.

Under these circumstances, one may ask, how was it possible for our law professors to continue to lecture on the laws and government of the Republic of China? Teaching economics was equally difficult. After the victory of the Chinese Revolution, how could the economics professors help realize a planned socialist economy by continuing to teach only about the market economy of the West and the relationship between supply and demand?

Teaching political science, however, was the most difficult. For example, with respect to the problems of the state, government organizations, and political parties, Marxists' understanding of these problems not only differed from the old content taught in the classrooms but in most cases was diametrically opposed to it. The difficulty for political science teachers was that they had not learned or internalized the new content for courses; it could not be fully understood in a short time. The old content was taught out of habit, but under the new circumstances the professors were unwilling, even if the schools had asked them, to teach "old" political science.

I bring up this acute problem of teaching political science because it forms the background of how the subject was abolished. Under such circumstances, we could only invite people outside the university to teach courses with the new content. Peking University invited some Marxist professors from Yan'an, the revolutionary base of the Communists. Those who came to teach courses in economics, law, and political science included He Sijing (a legal scholar), He Ganzhi and Hu Sheng (historians), Ai Siqi (a Marxist philosopher), and Xu Dixin (a Marxist economist).

Of course, this was a temporary measure. Now that the People's Republic of China was established, education had to be put on the right track. But, in fact, we did not know how to organize and run a socialist university. We could only seek advice from the Soviet Union, who already had 32 years of experience in building socialism. So we invited Soviet experts in every field and we transformed our social sciences according to the pattern of the Soviet Union; we also sent many young and middle-aged teachers to study in the Soviet Union. We changed our law and

economics departments so that their teaching plans and curriculum content were more or less the same as those used in the Soviet Union.

Political science, however, presented a different problem. Because they did not have political science departments, the Soviets could not help us in this area. That the Soviet Union did not have political science cannot be regarded as unique of socialist countries. Many countries of Continental Europe did not treat political science as a separate field, either. Of course, the Soviets studied political problems, but topics related to the authority of the state and government, history of political thought, and international law were all taught in law departments.

In the 1950s, reforms in Chinese higher education closely followed the Soviet blueprint. Because the Soviets had no political science, China followed suit by abolishing all political science departments. During the 1952 nationwide reorganization of higher education, for example, Peking University's School of Law retained only the Department of Economics (mainly to teach Marxist political economy). Professors and students of law and political science were sent to another new school, the Beijing Politics and Law College. Even bearing this name, though, the college in fact trained cadres only for basic-level administrations and for the courts.

Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, former dean of the School of Law at Peking University, became the chancellor of this new law college, which was closed during the Cultural Revolution but was reopened after 1976. (Because China now emphasizes the rule of law, at present there are ten regional law and politics colleges nationwide, which mainly train judicial cadres, and after several years in planning, a new National College of Politics and Law has been established in Beijing.)

Peking University's political science and law departments were abolished simultaneously in 1952. In 1954, it added a new Department of Law, which has greatly expanded and now admits 200 students every year, making it one of the largest social science departments at our university.

In this way, then, political science was abolished in several dozen Chinese universities in 1952. In 1960, as the controversy between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became public, China felt it needed large numbers of theoreticians with a good understanding of Marxism. Consequently, many Chinese universities, including Peking University, again established departments of politics. But these departments mainly taught basic Marxist theory and did not touch on the broader concerns of political science. In 1964, following a resolution on strengthening research on foreign issues, three major departments of politics, at Peking University, Renmin University, and Fudan University, were changed to Departments of International Politics, which still exist today.

The events described in the preceding text briefly explain what happened to the discipline of political science after 1949. As in the Soviet Union, however, many courses on political science, such as the Chinese Constitution, comparative constitutions, Western legislative government, history of Chinese political thought, history of Western political thought, and international law, continue to be taught in law departments. These courses were not abolished, but political science as we know it no longer existed as an independent science.

As a result, for almost 30 years there was no scientific study of political science. We failed to carry out serious scientific research on important problems related to the Chinese political system, such as the structure of government, the limits of power of government branches, their mutual relationships, the relationship between the Party and the government, the bureaucracy, the policy-making process, and the protection of the democratic rights of the people. Such negligence often resulted in our taking action, not following objective laws, but under the influence of subjective willfulness. A strongly developed subjective idealism naturally led to mistakes. A number of historical and political events over the last three decades has shown that abolishing independent study of politics as a science was a mistake.

4.2 Why China Restored Political Science After the Fall of the "Gang of Four"

After the "Gang of Four" was brought down, the whole nation was elated. The situation was similar to that in 1949, when the mainland of China was liberated, and many called this a "second Liberation." The painful experiences of the past, however, raised a series of questions that needed to be answered.

For example, why did the "Gang of Four" emerge? Why did that 10-year disaster, the so-called Cultural Revolution, occur? The "Gang of Four" were odious people, to be sure, but to attribute all bad occurrences to individual behavior is not a Marxist answer. We should seek even deeper reasons in history, society, ideology, and the system.

As another example, after the "Gang of Four" fell, a full reconstruction was under way. Everyone was impatient, hoping that many problems would be solved quickly. Why, then, could we not get going? Why was it so hard to raise our work efficiency?

It was clear that real life had brought out a series of problems that needed political scientists to study and to help solve. These problems included theoretical aspects as well as systemic and administrative ones. At present, the most important reason for restoring research in political science is to solve these problems.

Here, I would like to discuss briefly about Marxist political science. Marxist theory, fundamentally speaking, is a political science theory. It seeks to solve problems in the practice of politics. Marxism has three components, namely, Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economics, and scientific socialism.

Among these, Marxist philosophy is a world view, a general guide to ideological issues. Marxist political economics offers the basic theory for solving political problems because we believe economy is the foundation of politics. Scientific socialism is the focal point of Marxist theory. The aim of Marxism is to establish a socialist society without exploitation. And the concerns of scientific socialism is the concerns of political science. In this sense, among the three aspects of Marxism, it can be said that philosophy and political economics serve political science.

What is political science? It is an old question. In the past half century, scholars from many countries have provided different definitions for the concept. But all agree that the core issue of political science research is concerned with the political authority of the state. Consequently, much is written in political science about theories, histories, and conditions of state power.

From another perspective, however, the power of the state has two aspects: first, the seizure and creation of state power, and second, the consolidation and exercise of power. The first aspect is about how to make revolutions; the second, how to build nation-states.

We see that in Western political science, the emphasis of research is on nation-state building and administration, such as comparative constitutions, administration and bureaucracy, and political parties. But in classical Marxism, the emphasis is on how to carry out revolutions—revolutionary theories, the strategy and tactics of making revolutions, and seizing power. The study of these aspects of state power make up the content of political science, but each has its own particular emphasis and objective need.

The early Marxists were all revolutionaries. They wanted to organize the working people in order to seize political power through revolution. Marx and Engels never saw a situation in which the state had the power to build socialism. Consequently, they could only put forth some abstract principles on how to build a socialist state.

Lenin died only 7 years after his Party seized political power. Faced with domestic troubles and foreign invasions, he did not have time to sum up the experience of socialist construction. As for Stalin, he made some accomplishments, but also committed some serious mistakes; his contributions to Marxist theory are far below those of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In his later years, he sank deeply into historical idealism and he could not correctly sum up the lessons of building a socialist society.

Mao Zedong led the building of China for 27 years after the Communist Party of China came into power. But his major contribution, whether viewed as theory or practice, lay in seizing power, and not so much in consolidating it. Even concerning his two most important post-1949 works on building socialism, namely, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (1957), and "On the Ten Major Relationships" (1956), two points may be made. First, although they were correct, the articles were too theoretical and not sufficiently concrete. Second, unfortunately, the ideas were not seriously implemented.

In this way, an extremely illogical phenomenon arose. Marxists originally advocated the unity of theory and practice; theory must serve practice. But in China (and in the Soviet Union) after the seizure of power became history and the country was faced with socialist construction, professors in the classrooms and even scholarly works continued to stress on how to start a revolution and how to seize power. There was no one to study how to further improve the socialist system.

There were many reasons for this situation. One was that some scholars were afraid to discuss the topic of reforming the system. They feared that as soon as they discussed the socialist system, they would be misunderstood as wanting to

overthrow it. This was a consequence of the 1957 "Anti-Rightist Campaign." Since the "Bourgeois Revolution" some three centuries ago, however, modern capitalist political systems have continuously reformed and improved. How can the socialist system, with a history of only 60-odd years, not need improvements?!

Thus, Marxist political science in the past did not place enough emphasis on the building of socialist societies. The legacy of the classical writers consists of only some gifted foresight and abstract principles. Among these, some conclusions were incorrect. For example, Lenin often affirmed the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, yet, the French workers held power for only 72 days and their power was limited to just one city. Is it not ridiculous to try to apply the methods of administration of the Paris Commune (which failed at that time) to an enormous country like China now, with a population of one billion? (The Paris Commune model of politics was experimented for a short time in Shanghai in the 1960s.)

The organization and concentration of power during struggles for power, in short, may not be suitable for governing a large nation-state. A country without some separation of powers and mutual checks may be in a dangerous position. In ancient China, these problems were summarized by a Chinese scholar when he warned a victorious emperor, "You can conquer China on horseback. But how can you rule it that way?"

Today, the reason that we revive political science in China is to solve the problems in national construction. We need to study problems that urgently need solutions—actual political problems related to the system, the administration, democracy, and the legal system. Of course, to solve China's problems, we must also do research on historical problems and on foreign problems for reference. This is consistent with the principle: "Making foreign things serve China; making the past serve the present."

4.3 Recent Developments in Chinese Political Science

In recent years, we have taken the following steps to revitalize political science research:

1. Established a nationwide Chinese Political Science Association (CPSA) and local branches in various cities and provinces.
2. Established a Political Science Research Institute within the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).
3. Made preparations in institutions of higher learning for setting up departments of political science and programs to train new personnel.
4. Compiled teaching materials.

After the "Gang of Four," it seemed as if everyone had newly found his mind and mouth and began to ponder problems and to talk. The revival of political science (and also of sociology) took place under such lively academic circumstances.

4.3.1 New Political Science Organizations

In 1978 and 1979, five meetings, attended by 35 scholars from 23 institutions, were held in Beijing to discuss the work of restoring political science. The meetings discussed the object and scope of political science and summed up the negative effects due to the lack of it. Everyone believed that research on politics should help promote China's modernization. Many suggestions were made, including those for organizing political science associations, setting up departments in universities and training new personnel.

After a decision to set up a Political Science Institute within CASS, the PSI-Preparatory Committee in February 1980 invited more than 20 scholars in the Beijing area to be initiators of a political science society. After more than half a year's hard work and preparation, the founding meeting of the Chinese Political Science Association (CPSA) was held in December 1980 in Beijing. More than 150 scholars and cadres from every part of China attended this conference, which received more than 90 papers on a wide range of topics. More than 40 of these papers were published in a special volume of *Politics and Political Science* (*Zhengzhi yu zhengzhixue*) in 1981.

At this conference, serious discussions were held on the object and mission of political science and on the relationship between the study of politics and the reformation of the political system. Ideas were exchanged on how to launch the study of political science.

The "By-laws of the CPSA" were approved and the first group of officers were elected, with two highly respected senior political scientists chosen as the CPSA's honorary presidents. One was Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng; the other was Professor Deng Chuming, a Marxist scholar, who died at age 92 in 1981. The president of CPSA was Professor Zhang Youyu, a legal scholar and a vice president of CASS. In addition, there were six vice presidents and a standing committee of 23 members.

The conference also approved a "Five-Year (1981–1985) National Program of Political Science Research," which proposed 142 topics of study in six major areas:

1. Basic theoretical issues of political science.
2. Issues related to the Chinese socialist political system.
3. Contemporary foreign political systems and political doctrines.
4. History of Chinese political thought and political systems.
5. History of foreign political thought and political systems.
6. International relations and world politics.

The scholars attending the meeting undertook more than 130 research topics, including 54 monographs, six textbooks, 49 articles, and other materials and translations.

The founding meeting determined the future direction and mission of the study of political science in China. According to Article 3 of the CPSA By-laws,

> Follow the guidance of Marxism and the principle of combining theory with practice, implement the policy of "letting 100 schools of thought contend," affirm the scientific

> attitude of seeking truth from facts; carry out creative research on political theories, the history of political thought, political systems, the history of political systems, political parties, administration and management, international relations, and other issues of political science; enliven the enterprise of Chinese political science, serve reforming and perfecting the socialist political system, in order to build China into a strong, socialist country that will be highly democratic, highly civilized, and modernized.

After the CPSA was established, various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions throughout China formed independent local associations (at least 11 as of fall 1984). The total membership of CPSA stands at about 1,000.

In international academic activities, the CPSA has become a member of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). In March 1982, a Chinese scholar attended the roundtable meeting of IPSA held in Japan. In early 1984, the IPSA president and secretary visited Beijing and held discussions with Chinese colleagues. Subsequently, at its executive council meeting in April, a proposal to invite the CPSA to join the international body as the sole group member representing China was ratified. The CPSA will nominate two executive council members and participate in council affairs. Political scientists from Taiwan may also join the IPSA as a group member under the name "China-Taiwan (or Taipei) Political Science Association" and may send one council representative who will not participate in council affairs. The IPSA has stipulated that in their activities and documents, "the Republic of China," "Two Chinas" or "One-China-One-Taiwan" will not be used. The term "Taiwan" alone is not to be used.

In making preparations to attend the 1985 Congress of the IPSA to be held in Paris, the standing committee of the CPSA has decided to organize a panel on contemporary China, tentatively to focus on these two topics: (1) Constitutional Changes in China and (2) Current Reforms in Political Institutions.

4.3.2 CASS's Political Science Institute

At present, CASS's Political Science Institute (PSI), located in Beijing, is headed by Lin Ying and Yan Jiaqi and has more than 20 researchers. It consists of four research groups specializing in political theories, political systems, administration science, and foreign political science, respectively. It publishes two in-house journals—*Newsletter of Political Science Research* and *Reference Materials on Foreign Political Science*. In addition, several provincial academies of social sciences have set up political science research institutes. Research topics in the latter institutes tend to emphasize reforms of local institutions while simultaneously also conducting some basic research.

4.3.3 Political Science Training

Currently, in relaunching China's political science research, the most difficult problem is lack of personnel. The number of people who had previously studied political science, most of whom are elderly, is small. Consequently, the training of qualified personnel is now a matter of priority. To train students, however, we must first have teachers.

With the approval of the Ministry of Education, Peking University was to have its Department of International Politics conduct a year-long political science training class from the fall of 1981 to the summer of 1982. With their personal consent, 15 fourth-year students with high achievement were chosen from the department to take a special intensive curriculum in the following seven subjects: (1) General Political Science, (2) Modern Chinese Political Thought, (3) Theories and Practice of International Politics, (4) American Government and Politics, (5) History of American Diplomacy, (6) Contemporary Western Political Science, and (7) Comparative Political Science.

These courses were taught by senior Chinese instructors and foreign experts. Besides attending the classes together, the 15 students were divided into four specialized groups: (1) principles of political science, (2) history of political thought, (3) political systems, and (4) international relations.

After working on their specialized subjects with assigned advisors, each of the students submitted a thesis and graduated with a bachelor's degree in the summer of 1982. Eight of the 15 were assigned to work in the International Politics Department at Peking University and seven others were assigned to other locations.

To train more specialists, the CPSA also asked the Department of International Politics at Fudan University in Shanghai to run a nationwide training program that enrolled 60 social science students and researchers from all over the country. From March through June of 1982, they took courses in six subjects including, among others, government administration, city administration, and fundamentals of Law. After completing these courses, the participants returned to their original work units to become pioneering teachers in political science.

On the basis of these special training programs, many universities are establishing or planning to establish political science as a specialty. Shanghai's Fudan University admitted graduate students in this field first and then enrolled undergraduates in the summer of 1983. Currently, the Departments of International Politics at Fudan and Peking universities admit about 30–40 new political science majors every year.

Also, the government has assigned Peking University the task of running a special political science training program for basic-level cadres. More than 100 students were admitted to this program through examinations in four subjects: (1) political theories, (2) Chinese language, (3) Chinese and foreign history, and (4) Chinese and foreign geography.

These students are mostly basic-level cadres from city districts and counties who receive their salaries while they take courses and return to their jobs after

graduation. During the 2 years at Peking University, they study 16 courses including philosophy, political economics, history of the Communist Party of China, principles of political science, fundamentals of law, sociology and social problems, national economic management, urban and rural planning and construction, Western political systems, modern Western political thought, modern Chinese political thought, modern world history, and forums on modern science and technology.

We think that this kind of political training program for basic-level cadres is very meaningful for our country, which has 2,137 first-level county administrative units and tens of millions of basic-level cadres below the county level. They are the "basic-level power holders." The implementation of the central government's policies is in their hands, and their actual levels of competence directly affect the future development of China. The vast majority of these cadres are diligent and conscientious and whole-heartedly serve their country and people. But there are also a small number of them who abuse their power. Many of the good cadres, however, make errors and do harmful things because they have not received sufficient education and training, do not have enough knowledge of current politics, economics and society, and are subjective in setting goals in work. One can imagine how much these basic-level cadres, in the tens of millions, will improve the quality of their work after they have been trained in these 16 basic subjects.

To broaden our intellectual horizons, we have invited a number of foreign scholars in political science to give lectures in the past several years. Many Americans have visited or are scheduled to visit our universities and research institutes. These include Robert Scalapino, Kenneth Waltz, David Easton, Michel Oksenberg, Lowell Dittmer, Seymour Martin Lipset, Alex Inkeles, Herbert Simon, Leslie Lipson, Martin Landau, and Tang Tsou, to name but a few.

4.3.4 Instructional Materials

To train large numbers of political scientists, we also need new teaching materials. Therefore, we are compiling textbooks. Two general ones have been written in Beijing and Shanghai. I am the chief editor of the first college-level political science textbook entitled *An Introduction to Political Science* (1982). Subsequently, another text, *Principles of Political Science*, co-edited by others, has been published. Additionally, booklets to spread the basic knowledge of political science are being written, such as *An Introduction to Political Science*, *Political Parties*, *Legislative Systems*, and *Western Civil Service Systems*.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to address two issues briefly.

4.4.1 Serving Contemporary Politics in Practice

Generally speaking, science has developed as a result of the need to solve practical problems. In the development of human society, new questions and problems have constantly arisen and required scientists to answer and solve them. This, in turn, has furthered the development of science. Perhaps, in some particular places we may find individuals who pursue science for the sake of science without attempting to solve practical problems, but for human society as a whole this is not possible. This has not occurred in the past nor will this occur in the future. Science, therefore, no matter whether natural science or social science, exists to serve the practical needs of human society.

Political science, as we understand it, is primarily a science concerned with the exercise of state power and its relationship with the people. The revival and strengthening of political science research in China now is mainly intended to improve our socialist system.

Thus, as stated in the preamble of the "Five-Year (1980–1985) Program for Chinese Political Science," adopted at the founding meeting of the Chinese Political Science Association in 1980,

> Our mission is, first to study practical problems of China; in the research work as a whole, to give priority to major theoretical and actual problems that arise in our effort to realize the Four Modernizations, to strengthen and improve the leadership of the Party, to affirm the dictatorship of the proletariat, to reform and improve the socialist political system, to develop socialist democracy, to reform the cadre system and to simplify the administrative structure, to raise efficiency, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to seriously and comprehensively sum up the lessons learned from the experiences of the work in building political power since Liberation as well as the experiences of building the people's political power of the revolutionary bases before Liberation, and to continuously study new situations and new problems in political reforms, to generalize and to enhance theory.

The Four Modernizations and reforming and perfecting China's political system are the greatest and most important practical mission for China's one billion people at present. This important social and political mission requires the guidance of scientific theory; therefore, it is necessary to vigorously strengthen political science research. For example, at present China emphasizes the Four Cardinal Principles, that is, uphold (1) Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, (2) the socialist system, (3) the dictatorship of the proletariat, (4) leadership of the Communist Party of China. The advocacy of the Four Cardinal Principles has led to some major misunderstandings abroad and within China. China, however, must follow its own socialist road. Even though it has made many mistakes and suffered severe disruptions caused by the ultra-leftist line in the practice of socialism during the past three decades, China, it is quite clear, will not copy the West completely and take the capitalist road. China, therefore, must uphold the Four Cardinal Principles. To put them into practice, it is necessary to work diligently and arduously at political science research, and to seek truth from facts.

To uphold Marxism-Leninism, we first must be clear about what is the correct attitude toward Marxism: Is it treating Marxism dogmatically by reciting quotations

from the classical writers or is it conducting investigations and research of actual conditions realistically and creatively, from which to derive scientific conclusions? If it is the latter, then there is no alternative but to conduct political science research. It is necessary to do research on Marxist theory as well as to study and summarize the experiences and lessons of previous social practice. Otherwise, one cannot uphold true Marxism, but produce dogmatism and false Marxism of the past.

To uphold the socialist system, it is first necessary to determine what socialism is. Socialism is a magnificent ideal of humankind. Although it has had more than 60 years of practical experience in human societies, it is still being put into practice and its final form is far from being determined. Socialism must be continually perfected and developed. In many respects (for example, the question of socialist democracy, the relationship between the state and the people, the relationship between the state and political parties), if no scientific research in political science is carried out, how can we "uphold socialism?" In the world today there are hundreds of varieties of socialism, which one are we going to pursue?

In order to support the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is also necessary to conduct scientific research and to summarize historical lessons of the past. Some people in the world regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as autocratic rule, as bloody Fascist rule. We in China have also made mistakes under the slogan of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Thus, if today we do not have a scientific, correct understanding of the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," we are in no position to uphold it. if it is merely a hollow slogan, then it cannot help our cause but only harm it.

To uphold the leadership of the Party, we must also carry out major political science research. First of all, we must make a clear distinction between the Party of the revolutionary phase and the Party of nation/state-building phase as two very different development stages of the proletarian political Party. In terms of its position, its relationship with the people, the role it plays, the challenges it faces, a political party that has seized political power has very different responsibilities from its revolution-making period. If serious scientific research is not carried out on all these points, one cannot talk about maintaining the leadership of the Party.

Developing political science research in China today is an issue pushed to the forefront by practical conditions and social development. The vitality of this discipline derives from its ability to provide answers to questions encountered in practice and to serve current practical goals.

4.4.2 Our Feet in China; Our Eyes on the World

As discussed above, the goal of Chinese political science research is to improve and perfect China's socialist system and to serve Chinese politics in practice. To do this, of course, we must keep our feet in China. To say so is to emphasize particularly that we start with the national conditions of China. In the process of the democratic revolution (up to 1949), China was able to achieve victory by starting from the

concrete situation and rejecting all dogmas, foreign and Chinese alike. After establishing the People's Republic, however, we suffered various setbacks as a result of blindly copying foreign countries.

Consequently, we now emphasize that China must establish its own Chinese-style socialism. On the basis of our national conditions, we must consider all questions and do research on all problems. This means that we must study in-depth several thousand years of Chinese political culture and historical traditions. On the one hand, we must sum up and carry forward our historical legacy and absorb the successful political experiences down the centuries. To say that all political theories and political history of China's past were feudal, exploitative and repressive is a form of metaphysics. On the other hand, it is also necessary to understand limitations of Chinese society at present, including its long-standing poverty and underdevelopment, the influence of the remnants of feudal ideology. If we do not have sufficient understanding of or give sufficient attention to these limitations, then we will encounter rather great obstacles in trying to reform our society. On inadequately prepared soil, even new and good things may degenerate.

Keeping our feet in China, then, means to intensify research on China's national conditions. No matter what questions we consider, we must begin with the concrete realities.

As for keeping our eyes on the world, it means that we must learn from foreign countries. Anything foreign that is good should be absorbed as our nourishment, to serve our needs.

In the Five-Year Program for Chinese Political Science cited above, it was stated,

> We should also seriously and systematically study contemporary political science doctrines, political systems and international relations, and the histories of political science doctrines and of political systems to critically absorb from contemporary foreign political theories all that is useful to our country for reference in our research and reform work.

This means that our political science research, while paying attention to our national conditions, must simultaneously emphasize research on foreign countries, whether Eastern, Western, large, or small; to study, absorb, and use for China all the good things in their political systems, political life, and aspects of administration-management. As Premier Zhao Ziyang said: "Our socialist system will gradually improve in the process of absorbing the progressive factors of the various countries in the world."

But learning from other countries does not mean copying everything exactly from them nor following in their footsteps. Rather, it is a case of keeping our feet in China, making foreign things serve China. Also, this does not mean that all good foreign things can be adopted for use by us. We can only adopt and use those that are appropriate to our conditions. Moreover, our goal is not to learn to be just like foreign countries. Rather, we want to absorb foreign nourishment in order to enrich and develop China's socialist system.

After decades of isolation from the outside world, however, we must first seek to understand what foreign scholars have been doing during the past 30 years. We

must first try to comprehend what is going on in foreign scholarship. For example, we must gain a clear idea of the evolution of behavioralism and related concepts. We must seek to understand systems theory. Only then can we consider whether these concepts can be utilized by Chinese scholars. Today, the situation is quite different from the past when the ultra-leftist tide prevailed. At that time, any attempt to understand a foreign theory would be arbitrarily criticized, labeled "bourgeois" and dismissed. I think the current trend represents a major improvement in the attitude of Chinese social scientists toward foreign theories and learning.

Chapter 5
Causes and Consequences of the Cultural Revolution

China's Cultural Revolution, which lasted more than a decade, is commonly regarded as a large catastrophe in human history. It caused inestimable material and spiritual losses to the country and the people. This grave calamity ended more than 20 years ago. The dust is gradually settling. Nevertheless, the direct and indirect influences of this catastrophe still have a certain effect upon China's present reform undertaking and her future social development. This is indisputable.

5.1 Causes of the Cultural Revolution

Why did the Cultural Revolution happen? With regard to this question, an answer in principle was provided by a passage in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," passed at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 27, 1981. Put simply, the Cultural Revolution occurred because of mistakes made by the leadership, which were then manipulated by scoundrels.

This conclusion on the cause of the Cultural Revolution is of a political nature and is based on principle. First, at the time many people could not tell whether to affirm or to condemn the Cultural Revolution, which was "personally launched and led by Chairman Mao." The interpretation of mistakes made by the leadership clearly points out that the Cultural Revolution was a calamity that should be denounced. Second, it noted that Mao Zedong was primarily responsible for the mistakes made. Third, it differentiated Mao Zedong and the "Gang of Four": Mao Zedong was a good person who made mistakes; the "Gang of Four" was a group of scoundrels who used the leader's mistakes to make trouble. Although this conclusion helped reduce controversy in various sectors at the time, it is more political

Lecture given at the Pomona College, USA, in 1996.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_5

than scientific. To find the multiple, many-layered, and extremely complex causes of the calamity, a scientific conclusion based on truth sought from facts is necessary. Long-term, earnest, and conscientious scientific research obviously must come first.

For example, after the Cultural Revolution was launched, it immediately engulfed the entire country, rapidly spreading to China's vast land of 9.6 million square kilometers and disturbing the political, economic, and social lives of one billion people. Why? Why did the entire country go mad overnight? Simply to attribute such rarely seen chaos to people (one person or several people) would not be a scientific answer. Clearly, the Cultural Revolution was the inevitable outcome of political developments in China at the time. We should analyze the reasons for its occurrence from various perspectives: historical, social, ideological, political culture, the political system, and so forth. The Cultural Revolution happened because various contradictions in society gradually developed and inevitably broke out after intensifying to a certain stage.

This is not at all to say that individual persons in the leadership played no role in that catastrophe. "People" were the dominant factor in various contradictions as they intensified and developed in society at the time. It is undeniable that Mao Zedong's utopian interpretation of communism and socialism plus his stubborn belief in "continued revolution" played an important role in the calamity. Nevertheless, if contradictions in society at the time had not been objectively acute, he could not have lit the fire so easily; even if the fire was lit, it could not have spread so rapidly.

It is said that Mao Zedong "personally led" the Cultural Revolution, but later developments in the movement proved that Mao Zedong was unable to control it at many critical points. Mao had hoped for great disorder under heaven; he had said that great order would only occur following great disorder under heaven. Yet once the disorder started, things could not be put back in order. On many occasions, Mao forecast a time in which the Cultural Revolution would come to an end. First he said that the chaos would last for 3 months. Later he said that it would continue for half a year. Still later it was changed to 1 year. Eventually, he no longer mentioned a projected concluding date. Although he thought that there had been sufficient disorder and the movement should end, he was unable to control it.

Another example of Mao's lack of control was factional fighting. Mao came up with many ideas and proposed many slogans to curb the battles but overall they could not be stopped. Such fighting continued until the very end when, in the name of "helping the Left," he sent the People's Liberation Army to offices, factories, and schools, and armed troops actually were used to calm "domestic turmoil." Only at the very end was armed factional fighting brought to a finish. This proves that the entire Cultural Revolution movement, from start to finish, did not progress according to the intentions of the leadership.

In the past two decades or so, scholarly opinions in China and abroad with regard to the causes of the Cultural Revolution have varied. It is difficult to decide which ones are right. The main causes given for the Cultural Revolution are listed below:

1. The thesis of intensified class struggle. This thesis holds that the Cultural Revolution was the inevitable result of a struggle between socialist society's two classes and two lines. This was the view given in Lin Biao's report at the Ninth National Congress of the Party. This argument still has influence, even though it was refuted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in June 1981.
2. The thesis of a struggle between two lines. In this thesis it is believed that Mao Zedong's ideal types of socialism and communism were utopian. Dissension arose because those who dealt with concrete matters related to work among the leadership could not endorse Mao's ideas. The dissension actually was about "where China should go." The contradiction between Mao and Liu Shaoqi was of this kind; their lines differed. (For support of this view, see Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi and China's Cultural Revolution*; Roderick MacFarquher, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*; and Su Xiaokang, *Utopian Elegy: The Summer of 1959 at Lushan*.)
3. The intra-Party power struggle thesis. This thesis contends that the Cultural Revolution was the result of a power struggle within the CPC. Most of Mao's power had fallen away. To regain power, he launched the Cultural Revolution (See Simon Leys, *The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*). Others believe that Mao decided to purge those he discovered to be unfaithful throughout the upper and lower ranks of the Party (See Harry Gelmen, "Mao and the Permanent Purge," in *Problems of Communism*, vol. XV, No. 6, 1966).
4. The thesis of the treacherous court officials who bring disaster to the country. Here, it is held that the Cultural Revolution occurred mainly because of scoundrels (treacherous court officials) in the CPC: namely, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Jiang Qing and Lin Biao. Mao Zedong only made wrong decisions of strategic importance after he was hoodwinked by those scoundrels. Many memoirs published in China by CPC cadres are of this view.
5. The pernicious feudal legacy thesis. It is believed that Mao unconsciously considered himself a feudal emperor. The pernicious feudal legacy was manifest in the following: Those who disagreed with Mao's opinions still followed them without questioning; Mao certainly would square accounts after political movements ended (literally, "square accounts after the autumn harvest"); fanatic personality worship. After the People's Republic of China was founded, there was a lack of vigilance against the long-term influence of several thousand years of feudal social history, so that for a long time people were unconscious of feudal remnants. It can be said that since New China was founded, most of the mistakes made by the CPC and by its main leaders were the result of "feudal remnants."
6. The vicious cycle thesis of "Left" deviation ideology and ultra "Left" policies. With the success of the revolution, the Communist Party faced the task of nation-building. It was mistaken to emphasize "class struggle as the key." The fact that ultra "Left" theories and ultra "Left" policies long held a dominant position within the CPC brought about the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. Professor Jin Shouming and colleagues at the Party School of the Central Committee of

CPC summarized the causes of the Cultural Revolution into three vicious circles, namely:

- The vicious circle of "Left" deviation theory and "Left" deviation practice
- The vicious circle of a centralized state power system and personal worship
- The vicious circle of international and domestic anti-revisionism

Jin and colleagues believe that the Cultural Revolution erupted at the intersection of these three vicious cycles.

Of the six theses mentioned above, except for the first (the thesis of intensified class struggle), which is wrong, each of the remaining five theses has a certain basis. Actually, the Cultural Revolution precisely resulted from a synthesis of the five factors. Among these five, the one which played the dominant role was Mao's utopian illusion of future socialism.

In his book, *Historical Commentary on Contemporary Chinese Ideology* (pp. 192–193), Chinese scholar Li Zehou says, "To pin the Cultural Revolution on the plots of a few careerists or on a power struggle at the highest level of leadership is shallow and simply does not accord with reality." And "the situation was extremely complex with regard to the initiator and leader of this 'revolution'—Mao Zedong. All of the following were mixed up: the idealistic pursuit of a new type of man and a new world on the one hand, and the political struggle for power redistribution on the other; the loathing for and desire to smash bureaucratic organs (to transform the 'Ministry' of Coal Industry into the Coal 'Division') on the one hand, and the suspicion that 'most power fell to the wayside' and some people 'usurped power' on the other; the desire to maintain perpetual revolutionary ardor and a spirit of struggle (namely, the so-called 'anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism') on the one hand, and the yearning to be the guide and leader of global revolution, a combination of 'supreme ruler and teacher,' on the other; 'heavenly principles' on the one hand and 'human will' on the other."

I believe that Li's thesis is acceptable. But which of the many aforementioned factors was dominant? Professor Wang Nianyi of China's National Defense University contends that the core factor was "the idealistic pursuit of a new type of man and a new world." The rest are subordinate or derivative. So, then, what was "the idealistic pursuit of a new type of man and a new world"? Wang Nianyi believes that:

> [Mao] wanted to construct a closed socialism that "took class struggle as the key"; that limited and criticized the "rights of the bourgeoisie"; that "was pure and had (people's communes) large in size and collective in nature"; that was at the same time armed, industrial, agricultural, and cultural; that restricted the development of a commodity economy; and that was generally egalitarian in terms of distribution. He wanted to construct this type of socialism by launching a "struggle between two classes, two lines and two roads." This actually was a fantasy. Mao launched the Cultural Revolution for the sake of this fantasy. He put blind faith in it. Hu Qiaomu, who used to be in charge of ideological work on the Central Committee of the CPC, said, "the Cultural Revolution was Mao Zedong's religion and pitfall" (Wang Nianyi, *A Time of Great Turmoil*, pp. 3–5).

5.2 Consequences of the Cultural Revolution

Without the slightest doubt, the Cultural Revolution will go down in history as an unprecedented enormous catastrophe. With regard to Mao Zedong Thought, the Cultural Revolution did follow a theory and strategy. They formed as the movement developed:

1. Theory: The theory of "continued revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat."
2. Nature: "A great political revolution in which one class overthrows another class."
3. Principle: To attain great order under heaven via great disorder under heaven.
4. Goal: To overthrow and destroy the so-called headquarters of the bourgeoisie, and root out "the counterrevolutionary revisionist line."
5. Targets of the revolution: "Capitalist roaders in power" and "bourgeois reactionary academic authorities."
6. Backers: "Revolutionary leftist factions," meaning heads of rebel factions.
7. Pattern of struggle: Launch a nationwide overall power struggle to seize power from all levels of the CPC, government, fiscal authorities, and cultural bodies.
8. Method of struggle: Adopt the "four bigs": Speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big character posters, and holding great debates.

Although these points provided a complete theory and strategy for the Cultural Revolution, they were entirely wrong because they were established upon illusions and fantasies that had no basis in reality.

Mao Zedong was a great personality who made extremely great contributions to the Chinese revolution. In order to launch an even more magnificent undertaking in his later years, he hoped in vain to eliminate the corruption which other socialist states had not eliminated by embarking on the Cultural Revolution and so as to establish an unprecedented ideal socialist society, thereby developing Marxism to a brand new stage in which he himself could thus become the tutor and leader of global revolution. In spite of everything, Mao Zedong was resolute and determined to launch this mass movement never seen in human history, which led to irretrievable losses for China and its people. The disastrous effects of the Cultural Revolution are far and wide.

The grave consequences of the Cultural Revolution can be discussed in terms of the following:

In terms of ideology, right and wrong were mixed up, causing idealism to run wild and metaphysics to spread unchecked. This created serious ideological chaos on a national scale.

The so-called great dissemination of Mao Zedong Thought was essentially dissemination of idealism and of superstition. Mao's sayings during the Cultural Revolution were taken as the highest instructions, replacing scientific and rational ways of thinking. The "Little Red Book" covered the land. It was used to attack opponents and fight factional battles. With regard to the fanatic cult worship of

Mao, the revolutionary leader of the proletariat was taken as an omniscient, omnipotent god whose every phrase was truth. On January 23, 1967, during a meeting at which Lin Biao met a representative of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the CPC, he said that whoever opposed the leader opposed all! "Materialism, dialectics, historical materialism, or natural science—indeed! It is fine not to study any of them." Maintaining loyalty to the leader alone was the greatest study "above and beyond everything." Mao was said to be a great genius produced only every "several hundred" or "several thousand years." One's attitude toward Mao Zedong was the sole standard for determining whether one was "revolutionary" or "counterrevolutionary."

Unfailing loyalty to the leader unfortunately was promoted in a religious manner. Examples include: Before hoeing, peasants first paid respect to the east because the "East is Red." Workers alongside lathes saluted Mao's portrait. It was popular to ask for instructions in the morning and report back in the evening. One provincial-level CPC Committee secretary led a delegation back to the provincial capital after participating in the Ninth Party Congress, and took the lead in strumming out a loyalty dance, which he danced from the train station all the way back to the provincial CPC Committee offices. One senior street sweeper needed to clean away the dust on Mao Zedong's statue. But it appeared that he had a "treacherous plot to kill" Mao because he held onto the statue's neck to dust it; he was labeled a counterrevolutionary and remained a target of the "dictatorship" for several years. While playing, a 5-year-old child "unwittingly" hung a Mao badge upon the head of a kitten; with the child in her arms, the mother was taken away to be denounced in public. A printer who mistyped a character related to Mao, a peasant who mispronounced a slogan, a student at a meeting who sat on a newspaper upon which was printed Mao's photograph—all were beaten as counterrevolutionaries and were charged as "class enemies."

At the same time, a series of major theoretical and policy issues confused right and wrong and mixed up black and white. Refuted also were many correct principles, policies and successes of the country's construction in the 17 years since New China was founded, many of which were proposed or supported by Mao Zedong himself. Many wrong things were affirmed as new developments of socialism. Developing production was denounced "taking productivity above everything else." Concern for the masses' material lives was criticized as "a material tide" or "a welfare system." In education, students who studied hard were criticized for "putting intellectual knowledge first and taking a 'white expert' road." Thus, Zhang Tiesheng, who turned in a blank exam paper, was lauded as a model who dared to rebel and as a hero who dared to go against the tide. A slogan of the time went, "The more learning one has, the more reactionary one is." The socialist principle of "to each according to his work" was criticized for promoting "bourgeois interests." The ultra-leftist viewpoint of denying human nature was used to criticize the so-called landlord-bourgeois human nature. In academia, there was great contention in philosophy, economics, law and other disciplines, of which, politics and sociology earlier had been thoroughly refuted as "bourgeois pseudo-sciences."

In literature and art, great or famous works, domestic or foreign, or famous ancient Chinese works, were all criticized and attacked. The "black line dictatorship theory" of the 1930s was proposed again. *Summary of the Literature and Art Work Conference Convened by Comrade Jiang Qing on Behalf of Comrade Lin Biao* criticized the literature and art circles' so-called eight black theories, (such as the theories of "writing as it is, expanded realism, deeper realism," etc.), of which some were entirely correct and others were basically correct.

In sum, during the Cultural Revolution, right and wrong, legal and illegal, cultured and barbaric, noble and base, glorious and profane, the true, the good, the beautiful, the false, the bad, and the ugly were all mixed up. Traditional Chinese virtues such as "respect the old and cherish the young" and "respect teaching and give heed to natural laws" were fully refuted. With regard to the younger generation, they suffered unparalleled deep psychological traumas.

In politics, the enemy and the people were confused, and right and wrong were inverted. Gains in establishing state political power over the course of l7 years since New China was founded were destroyed, as was the normal operation of all levels of government organizations. There were violent power struggles throughout China. Those responsible in government at all levels were taken as enemies to be denounced and humiliated. In the 20 months following the so-called January Tempest of 1967, there was a manifestation of "the reddening of rivers and mountains throughout China." People's governments in every province, municipality and autonomous region were slandered as old and pseudo-political authorities to be overthrown. Under the slogan, "it is right to rebel," some of society's local scoundrels, hooligans, and bad elements seized power. In the name of the "dictatorship of the masses," throughout China it was common to set up clandestine tribunals, lock up cadres and ordinary citizens, extort confessions by torture, and beat people to death at random. By practicing "great democracy," socialist democracy and the legal system were severely damaged. Former president Liu Shaoqi was denounced in public, his house was searched and he was persecuted to death under the "dictatorship of the masses" with no legal procedure whatsoever. All these examples indicate that the ruling party had lost authority in the eyes of the people, and that the relationship between the CPC and the masses was destroyed. In the 1950s, without exaggeration this relationship had been one of "fish and water." The situation was greatly changed after the Cultural Revolution.

With reference to the economy, production was severely damaged, which meant major losses for the national economy. On December 20, 1977, at a National Planning Conference, Li Xiannian said that the decade of turmoil caused losses worth RMB 500 billion yuan. This figure corresponds to 80 % of the investment in capital construction during the nearly 30 years between New China's founding and 1977.

Regarding culture, it was destroyed. Intellectuals were oppressed to all lengths. Many valuable antiques, scenic spots, and historical sites were smashed and destroyed as the "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits). Under the slogan of "overthrowing reactionary academic authority," many scholars and experts in science, medicine, literature, art, the humanities, and social sciences

who had made important contributions were beaten up, psychologically attacked, or left to groan in prison. How many famous men and women of letter and scholars were slandered and died in poverty? What was the total number of people persecuted to death during the Cultural Revolution? Even now there are no statistics.

The pernicious influence of the enormous catastrophe, which the Cultural Revolution brought to China and her people, is still being felt. The worst influence, also the most difficult to eliminate, concerns morals, customs, democracy, and the legal system, posing a great obstacle to China's modernization. When mentioning the Cultural Revolution in his later years, Mao Zedong still firmly supported the saying that it was 70 % successful and 30 % wrong, the error being "overthrowing everything and having a full-scale civil war." Is it not self-contradicting to overthrow "everything" and have a "full-scale" civil war on the one hand, and "70 %" success on the other? (See *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, English version, vol. 3, p. 287.)

The ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Zi said, "With regard to good fortune, it relies on calamity; with regard to calamity, good fortune accompanies it." This means that good fortune and calamity arrive hand in hand. The Cultural Revolution was an absolutely bad event; nevertheless, it has woken up 1.2 billion Chinese people. They have learned lessons of immediate concern to themselves from it. They have realized that China must reform and open up to the outside world; that she must develop the economy in a stable environment; that China must move away from a system of rule by man toward rule by law. China needs democracy, but not the type found in the Cultural Revolution, that is, not the type of "democracy" that actually created turmoil.

The people's political awakening should be the most powerful insurance for the success of China's reform.

Chapter 6
Political Transition: From "the Rule of Man" to "the Rule of Law"

In the modernization of a state, the most important characteristic of the process of political transition is that from "the rule of man" to "the rule of law."

For most of the developing countries, the transformation from "the rule of man" to "the rule of law" is an arduous, time-consuming, and profound process. In this process, the state has to overcome all sorts of political and social contradictions. China is a socialist country established on the basis of a 2,000-year-long tradition of feudalist autocracy. Therefore, the challenges that China faces in her transition from "the rule of man" to "the rule of law" will be even more rigorous.

6.1 Conditions for "The Rule of Man"

Two prerequisites will have to exist so that "the rule of man" can be implemented. First, there must be a generally accepted and unchallengeable political authority in the state; second, the sense of political participation of the masses is not strong enough. These two prerequisites are both indispensable to a state under "the rule of man." In the Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping eras, China was such an example. The absolute political authority of both Mao and Deng was established largely due to historical reasons. In other words, the root of their unmatched authority lies in their unparalleled accomplishments in the revolutionary struggles and socialist constructions of China. Such authority could not have been attained simply because of their personal intelligence and wisdom, or simply through propaganda and public support.

This being said, the existence of an absolute political authority does not guarantee "the rule of man." The other essential condition, namely, the underdeveloped sense of political participation of the masses is also indispensable. In a country with

Speech at the international symposium on "Institutional Analysis of Political Transitions in Germany and China" in Beijing, September 12–13, 1999.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_6

a long feudalist tradition, the general masses are often content with living under the government of a benevolent emperor, a sagacious prime minister, and a group of upright officials. Their highest political ideal is but to live a peaceful and comfortable life.

Obviously, in today's China, the above-mentioned two prerequisites for "the rule of man" are no longer in existence. Deng Xiaoping led the country onto the road of reform and opening up after the 10-year catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution. He summarized the experience and lessons of China's revolution and construction, stressing the significance of strengthening democracy and the legal system. He proposed building China into a socialist country with Chinese characteristics. One of the characteristics is "a socialist country ruled by law." This is an important institutional innovation different from the system implemented in the Soviet Union and the East European socialist countries.

6.2 The Relationship Between Law and the Party Rules

It doesn't mean that a state ruled by man does not need any laws; the key point is the relationship between law and state power. In a state ruled by man, the laws are used to serve the state power, and yet the state power, controlled by an absolute political authority, is supreme and not subject to the restraints of law. The most salient feature of a state ruled by law, on the other hand, is the supremacy of law. Only in a state with a perfect legal system can "everyone be equal before law." In a state ruled by law, the relationship between law and the state can be described as: the legitimacy of state power is provided by law, and the implementation of state power is based on law. In order to make this a reality, however, the political life and social life of a state must be put onto the legal track. The more advanced the political and social lives of a state, the more they require the supreme of law, so as to balance and coordinate the various social contradictions and dislocations.

In a state ruled by law, the law is not a subsidiary of the state. Instead, the legal system itself is a fair, reasonable and independent mechanism. Without the legislative and judicial mechanisms, the social functions of law cannot be realized.

A story goes that someone once asked a state leader, "Which is higher, the party law, or the state Constitution?" The reply he got was, "The Party leads the masses in drawing up the Constitution; and the Party also leads the masses into observing the Constitution." Such a roundabout reply was a product against a special historical background.

As a matter of fact, in the amendment to the Party Constitution made at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1982, when China was still in her early stage of reform and opening up, it was stipulated that "the Party's operations shall be within the limits set by the Constitution and the laws." The new Constitution of the People's Republic of China formulated in 1982 says, "All state organs and armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, all businesses and institutions shall abide by the Constitution and the laws. All

behaviors that breach the Constitution and the laws shall be investigated and punished." "No organization or individual shall have special privileges that go beyond the Constitution and the laws."

These provisions may sound prosaic to people from Western developed countries. However, to people from socialist countries where Marxism and Leninism are used as guidance and the Communist parties are at the helm of the states, such provisions should definitely be regarded as a significant breakthrough in the history of the development of state and law. And this breakthrough is going to determine the political outlook of China in the coming twenty-first century.

6.3 To Build a Socialist Country Ruled by Law

In the Political Report passed at the Fifteenth National Congress of the CPC, following Deng Xiaoping's thought on ruling the country by law, the CPC proposed the objective of "ruling the country according to law and build a socialist country ruled by law." Immediately afterward, the amendment to the Constitution of 1982, which was passed at the Second Conference of the Ninth National People's Congress (NPC), explicitly provided that "the People's Republic of China exercises rule according to law and aims at building a socialist country ruled by law." This amendment reflected a significant institutional renovation in China's course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

According to the Marxist and Leninist theory on state and law, socialist countries have long held that "the state is an instrument for class suppression," and that "law is the embodiment of the will of the ruling class." In the "socialist dictionary," there is absolutely no such entry as a "socialist country ruled by law." It is the Chinese people who, summarizing their 80-year historical experience and lessons, first proposed such an objective for national development.

As has been mentioned earlier, this is an important innovation. In my view, it can even be said that such an innovation restored and revitalized China, and made possible the successful realization of the ideal of a truly socialist society.

China is currently taking great strides toward this goal. However, the process will be a long and arduous one, and cannot be expected to be accomplished in one move.

China is a country under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It has been almost 80 years since the Party led the country into her success in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist democratic revolution. Indeed, the Party's authority has always been supreme. It can be said that this has already become an irrefutable customary law. It is true that the Party has her own leadership style, which has proven generally effective over the long years of history. Nevertheless, in order to fulfill the task of "building a socialist country ruled by law," the first thing to do is to realize the transition of such a leadership style. This entails not only the identification with such a transition ideologically, but also the realization of the transition of the style of power mechanism in practical terms. To a ruling party that has become

accustomed to "the party should lead everything" and has as many as 60 million party members, such a transition is by no means easy.

Secondly, in order to realize the goal of a "socialist country ruled by law," the transition of the state power mechanism must be realized. Karl Marx stressed that after the success of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletarian class must be put into practice. Therefore, up to now, all the regimes of the socialist countries have been labeled the dictatorship of the proletarian class. Regardless of the essence of such a dictatorship, there is something in common among all of its different forms in different countries. That is, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not restricted by any law. To build a "socialist country ruled by law", state power will have to observe the rule that its operations shall be within the limits set by the Constitution and the laws. The transition from the dictatorship of the proletarian class to state power within the limits of law concerns various aspects of the operation of state power, some of which are fundamental to the state. This also determines that the transition won't be easy.

It is also precisely because of the necessity of the two above-mentioned transitions, namely, the transition of the leadership style of the Party, and the transition of the state power mechanism, that efforts must be made to overcome the various contradictions that are inevitable. Such contradictions include: the contradictions with the current leadership institutions of the Party, the contradictions with the current state power structure, the contradictions with the current legislative and judicial structures, the laws and decrees in effect, etc. Among these and many other contradictions, one is fundamental, that is, the contradiction between the powers of the Party and the state and the restrictions of law.

In order to attain the goal of building a socialist county ruled by law, the challenges that China faces are extremely rigorous. Be it a large area of landmines, or a twelfth-level typhoon, as long as the masses and leaders at all levels can make concerted effort, this goal is eventually attainable. It is important to inculcate into the leaders at all levels and the masses the consciousness of building a state under the rule of law. This consciousness includes: law is supreme; the power of the Party and state power both shall be restricted by law, etc. China is a socialist country of the people, rather than one of just the leaders. The principle that "the people are the masters of the country" is no empty talk, and shall be embodied by certain concrete legal procedures. The people should develop the understanding that every man has a responsibility for the fate of his country, and take an active part in the administration of the country. "Everyone is equal before law" also means that everyone is to enjoy equal rights and bear equal responsibilities. All the civil rights that have been provided for by the Constitution will naturally be under the protection of law. A country ruled by law should be a country that makes every effort to protect the civil rights of every one of its citizens; it should also be a country where every one of its citizens makes effort to improve his law consciousness.

6.4 Towards the Rule of Law

It is China's set objective to build itself into a socialist country ruled by law. This is also an important issue in China's political institutional reform in her pursuit of modernization. Indeed, the transition from "the rule of man" to "the rule of law" has a critical bearing on the future development of the country. In order to facilitate this transition, concerted effort shall be made throughout the country. China has had a long tradition of feudalist patriarchal system; the relationship between the Party and the state is still far from properly positioned; a large number of leaders at different levels are accustomed to the patriarchal system and lack the consciousness of the rule of law. Given all these inefficiencies, in dealing with the construction of a perfect legal system, on the one hand, policies will have to be implemented firmly and resolutely; on the other, considerations must be comprehensive and measures must be taken step by step. And the key lies in the leaders at various Party and government offices being strict with themselves and setting examples.

Chapter 7
Political Science Studies in Contemporary China

It is well known that since ancient times, China has been characterized by a heritage rich in the study of political science. With a long history and the largest population in the world, China has accumulated rich experience in political theory and practice, as well as in administrating a nation. And most of the experience and theories have been well preserved through the ages in written form. There is no doubt that, among these, some are out-of-date. But many of these out-of-date texts, even up to today, are still valued as treasures of wisdom.

Modern Western political science was first introduced into China in the late nineteenth century. Around 1900, China published the first book of Western political science by the Commercial Press. This book was a Chinese version of a lecture record of a German professor. The first university which offered the course of political science was the Capital Academy, the predecessor of today's Peking University. After the October Revolution, Marxist-Leninist theories concerning class and class struggle state and revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, were introduced into China, and had a great influence on the study of political science. By 1949, many universities in China had established departments of political science that trained personnel in the field. As a result, a number of well-known experts in political science emerged, and many valuable monographs on political science were published. In 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded. Following that, great importance was placed on learning from the Soviet Union's experience in building socialism. China's higher education was also adjusted to follow the example of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, there were no departments of political science in the universities of the Soviet Union, nor was there an independent research institute in its Academy of Science. Their political teaching and research were combined with the study of law. For instance, in their department of law, they offered the following courses: "Theory of State and Law," "History of State and Law," etc. Therefore based on the blueprint of the Soviet Union,

Lecture given at the Free University of Berlin, Germany, in 2001.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_7

political science departments in China's universities were dissolved in 1952. The teachers and courses were then merged into the department of law. From then on, political science in China no longer existed as an independent branch of learning. It was not until the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1978 when the 10-year period of national turmoil known as the Cultural Revolution came to an end, that political science began to be restored as an independent subject.

This chapter will mainly discuss the restoration process in political science in China during the past 10 years, as well as describe the present situation.

7.1 The Reviving of Social Science Studies in China

After 1978, China's social sciences entered a new era of resurgence and development. Political science was once again emphasized as a course of study. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping pointed this out in his speech at an important conference: "In the past several years, we have neglected the study and research of political science, law, sociology, and international politics. However, at the present time we have to hurry to make up our deficiencies." [p. 188, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (1975–1982)]

Meanwhile, the study of political science faced the challenge of solving the problems which emerged as the country strove for socialist modernization. Under these circumstances, the study of political science in China was restored and began to develop.

The restoration of political science in China was marked by the reestablishment of the Chinese Association of Political Science (CAPS).

The Chinese Association of Political Science was first established in 1932, in Nanjing. One of the founders, Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, became the honorary chairman of the restored CAPS in 1980. Among the older generation of political scientists who took an active part in the original CAPS' activities, most remained in the mainland of China after 1949, including well-known scholars like Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, Zhang Xiruo, Qian Changzhao, Zhou Gengsheng, Xu Deheng, and Wang Tieya, etc. In 1952, when the colleges and universities were adjusted, the teaching and research of political science and the science of law were combined, and the Chinese Association of Political Science and Law (CAPSL) was founded in Beijing in April 1953. All of the older generation of political scientists who had remained in the mainland joined the association. Its first chairman was Dong Biwu, who had participated in the UN Conference in San Francisco in April 1945, as one of the Chinese representatives. Professor Zhang Youyu, now chairman of the restored CAPS, and the late Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, both served as vice chairmen of the CAPSL. Professors Xu Deheng and Zhou Gengsheng, once members of the CAPS, served as executive members of the CAPSL. After 1978, when China decided to differentiate between political science and law, and to develop each of

them as an independent branch of learning, the CAPS and the Chinese Association of Law were both reestablished.

In December 1980, the inaugural meeting of the CAPS was held in Beijing. More than 150 scholars and cadres from 24 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions attended. The conference approved the "Five-Year (1981–1985) National Program of Political Science Research," and also determined the future direction and mission of the study of political science in China. The Program can be summarized as follows:

> The study of political science in China should be under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, follow the principle of combining theory with practice, implement the policy of letting one hundred schools of thought contend, and affirm the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts.
>
> As to the area of research, first of all, creative research on the socialist political system and practical political problems in China should be undertaken. For example, the issues of institutional reform, various legislation, including the problems of executive legislation, the relations between the state and the political party, and the problem of socialist democracy and its legal system, etc.

Not only should China's practical political problems be researched, but also those of foreign countries, no matter East or West, big or small, should be studied. All that is good about foreign countries, including the fields of political systems, political life, and executive management, should be learned, absorbed, and used by us Chinese.

The conference emphasized research in the following six fields: basic theoretical problems of political science, problems related to the Chinese socialist political system, contemporary foreign political systems and political doctrines, history of Chinese political thought and political systems, history of foreign political thought and political systems, international relations, and world politics.

After the CAPS was established, various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions throughout China also formed independent local associations. These included Heilongjiang, Jilin, Anhui, Shaanxi, Jiangsu, Henan, Guangxi, Sichuan, Shanghai, Tianjin, Beijing, Chongqing, etc. Up to the present, about 17 local political science associations have been set up. In 1984, the CAPS joined the International Political Science Association, and became one of its collective members. In July 1985, the CAPS sent representatives to attend the 13th World Congress of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) held in Paris. Professor Zhao Baoxu was elected an executive member of the IPSA. At the 14th Congress of IPSA, held in August 1988 in Washington, Mr. Hu Qiang, one of China's top professors of political science, assumed the post previously held by Professor Zhao Baoxu, and became one of the executive members.

After the establishment of CAPS and the local associations, various seminars on political science were held in succession for academic exchanges both at home and abroad. The academic activities related to political science increased rapidly. Soon after, the Institute of Political Science, part of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and some local academies of social sciences were set up, and a number of academic magazines on political science were launched.

After the reestablishment of the study of political science in China, more than ten influential universities: Peking, Fudan, Jilin, China Politics and Law, Nanjing, Xiamen, Zhengzhou, Zhongshan, Nankai, Wuhan, Yunnan, Hebei, and Huadong (East China) Normal, all set up political science departments to train both undergraduate and graduate students. Since the first publication of the book *An Introduction to Political Science*, published by Peking University in 1982, more than ten textbooks on the subject have been published. Furthermore, many works focusing on relevant topics have also been published. The study of political science in China has gradually entered into a stage of prosperous development.

7.2 Current Status of Political Science Study in China

Ten years have past since the restoration of the study of political science in China in 1980. In the last 10 years, the study of political science has made great progress. Generally speaking, this progress can be described as follows.

First of all, because the Marxist-Leninist principle of "seeking truth from facts," the basic principle required to carry out all tasks effectively, is emphasized by the country and the Party Central Committee, and also due to the progressive results achieved from the discussion throughout the country under the topic "Practice is the Only Standard of Testing Truth," China became alive, the economy became alive, scientific inquiry and the study of political science also flourished.

Like other fields of social sciences, the guiding ideology for political science research in China is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, the principle of combining theory with practice, the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, as well as a practical and realistic work style. Although the guiding ideology has not changed, there has been marked improvement in practicing these principles. In recent years, scholars in their academic research are striving to overcome the former rigid and dogmatic attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. Now, instead of following outdated approaches, which only gave explanatory notes to the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, merely explained the present policy of the Party, or were simply propaganda, the scholars make practical and creative study on the basis of real materials and data obtained via scientific methods of investigation. That is to say, they conduct research in accord with realistic conditions, instead of blindly adhering to ideology. They take the general principles of Marxism-Leninism (such as: all matters are in a constant state of flux, both related to and limited by one another; superstructure is determined by economic basis; the relations of production should be suited to the level of productive forces; and the people are the primary actors in historical development, etc.) as the guiding line, but do not limit themselves to concrete classical Marxist-Leninist conclusions, which might not be in accord with the present reality. In the summer of 1989, the Party Central Committee wrote in a guiding document: "In theoretical work, we should, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, study in depth the new problems that arise in building modernization; continue to implement the policy of

'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend,' encourage the emancipation of mind, boldly explore and put forward various new ideas and solutions; tolerate unavoidable faults in exploration and permit different views."

I think this guiding ideology is very wise. Without encouraging exploration and creation, it is impossible to get scientific conclusions or effective solutions for the many questions, which may arise in practice. And without a suitable political environment to encourage scholars to explore and create boldly, scientific study can never be dynamic. We are glad to see that in the past 10 years, inappropriate propaganda which was intended to cater to the temporary political situation has appeared less frequently in the works published by scholars of political science. Nowadays you can see quite a number of works and essays which dare to face reality, to discuss social evils, to analyze sensitive issues, or to speak the truth. For instance, in recent years, monographs and articles discussing corruption and anti-corruption have been published continually. And from time to time, one can see works of real knowledge and deep insight.

Secondly, since the guiding ideology was gradually established, the study of political science in China in the past 10 years, combined with the general trend toward a stable political environment, has led to important breakthroughs. For instance:

1. After refuting the ultra-leftist "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," which guided the Cultural Revolution, the definition of class and the developing trend of class struggle in socialist society have been reinterpreted. The existence and significance of other complicated social contradictions in socialist countries have also been demonstrated.
2. As to the problems facing the nation, scholars have abandoned the long-held, one-sided view, which took the state as a tool for class repression, and spent a lot of time studying the administrative functions of the state as an administrative apparatus of public rights in society. Scholars have pointed out that the transformation of the prerevolution state apparatus into a nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be completed in one step. This requires a long historical process in order to nurture what is useful and healthy and discard that which is not.
3. Introducing political power as a new approach to the study of political science in China has prompted a series of changes. These include shifts from static to dynamic studies; from qualitative studies to integrating quantitative and qualitative studies; from macrocosmic to microcosmic studies; from abstract value studies to economic studies.
4. As to the study of political development—the study of how a nation is transformed from a traditional one to a modern society—we, in the last 10 years, have analyzed and summarized the modern experience of political development by using the research results of foreign countries. Meanwhile, we have also conducted fruitful research in the following fields: the influence of political power on political development, the relationship between developing

democracy and maintaining political stability, the differentiation and coordination of social interests, political development, as well as political corruption.
5. For the development of social democracy, many new achievements have been made regarding the general characteristics of democracy and its implementation, comparison between socialist democracy and capitalist democracy, the operating mechanism of socialist democracy, and the Constitution and reformation of socialist democracy.

For the study of socialist political systems we have put forward the theory of multi-party coalition under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and demonstrated the role of the democratic parties in democratic consultation, democratic supervision, and their participation in government and political affairs. This study is very significant in promoting China's socialist democracy and legal system.

In addition, newer branches of learning in political science have also begun to make progress in such fields as political culture, political socialization, political sociology, political psychology, political anthropology, political broadcasting, and so on.

Similarly, during the past 10 years, along with the implementation of China's reform and opening-up policy, the study of political science has also opened itself to the outside world. Academic exchanges with foreign countries in the area of political science have increased daily. The old days of rejecting all Western social science results, which were branded as "bourgeois pseudoscience," has been significantly altered. Scholars are now encouraged to assimilate all of the scientific and cultural results of all nations. Anything that is advanced, scientific, and suitable for China can be used by us Chinese. Therefore, many new results of political science in foreign countries have been gradually introduced into China. Some new Western schools of thought and theoretical systems in political science have been embraced by Chinese political scholars, such as behavioralism, postbehavioralism, analytic systems theory, structural functionalism, and so on.

Thirdly, in the past 10 years, the study of political science in China has integrated more closely with "realistic politics." Ten years ago, Deng Xiaoping initiated the reform of the political system and put forward the strategic target for constructing socialist democratic politics. China's social science scholars have since begun to place more emphasis on the new situation and practical problems that have emerged in social political life. Chinese political scientists have made great effort aimed at solving the practical problems of research work, like institutional reform, mechanism reform, public administration, democracy and the legal system, etc. This trend can be seen clearly by briefly listing some topics of national seminars held in recent years by CAPS. For example, in January 1983, we held a seminar on "Reform of Government Organization and the Cadre System"; in March 1985, a seminar on "the International Environment for China's Four Modernizations Construction Policy in the Late 1980s"; in June 1986, a seminar on the functions of the government, etc. These seminar topics covered such issues as construction of socialist political power, socialist democracy and its system, the cadre system, the Party's leadership, the system of the People's Congress, the

election system, and the relationship between the central and local governments. The concentration on realistic political problems has also resulted in the change of methods used in this research. One can see a clear trend away from excessively theoretical inquiries toward a method of inquiry characterized by social research and gathering data, which can be scrutinized in a more scientific fashion. For example, in the seventh national Five-Year Plan there was a project proposed for social science study, an inquiry into the reform of China's political system. To carry out this research, scholars from 11 universities worked together. These universities were from different parts of China, including Peking, Fudan, Zhongshan, Wuhan, Nanjing, and Tianjin Normal universities. I was in charge of this project. Crucial problems concerning the present political system reform needed to be addressed and systematic investigations and analysis needed to be made. So each participating university organized teachers and graduates to make observations in certain political areas throughout the country by way of visiting, informal discussions, surveys, and case studies. In the first year, we investigated issues concerning the People's Conference in local areas, from the elections of representatives to their personal political and cultural quality, their consciousness of political participation, their values, working style, and their relationship with the electorate as well. This investigation was conducted in Guangdong in South China, Jilin in North China, Jiangsu in East China, and Henan and Hebei in North China. On the basis of first-hand scientific data obtained from the nationwide investigation, we issued 18 reports of our findings. Then we held a profound discussion attended by scholars and personnel of local People's Congresses, among whom four were secretary generals of the People's Congress in the respective cities investigated. We also made this discussion a basis for an advisory report (including the actual situation, the existing problems and ways of improving them) for some leading authorities to use as a reference for decision-making. The following year we made a nation-wide investigation on the separation of the Party and administration in the Chinese political system reform. The results of the investigations, consisting of two collections of reports, were published by the Shaanxi People's Press in 1990. One is the *Democratic Politics and Local People's Congress* (collection of survey reports); the other is *Governmental Institutions and the Functions of the Communist Party* (collection of survey reports).

For a long time, the development of political science in China came upon setback after setback. There seems to be a law working here, that is, the closer the development of a social science is to the current political situation, the easier it is to be interfered with by "current politics." Political science is a branch of learning most closely related with realistic politics. Therefore, it is the most difficult type of research to conduct. The recent development of political science research has come as a result of practical necessity. At present, China's reform of both the economic and political systems is a revolutionary change toward complementing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics. This is concerned with politics, economics, culture, and ideology, and will come into contact with many strata of society. In the course of this great change, we are likely to encounter all sorts of unexpected problems, to which political scientists can offer scientific and effective solutions.

This will supply a necessary precondition for the progression of political science in China. Therefore, no matter how difficult the environment may be, I believe that in the future, the study of political science in China is bound to enter a more vigorous, practical, and realistic new phase.

Chapter 8
"Revolution" and "Development"—A Comparative Study of Chinese Diplomacy in the Mao Zedong Era and in the Deng Xiaoping Era

Some scholars argue that China's foreign policy has been very unpredictable in the past 50 years. Some others go even further as to say that "every 10 years would see a major change in China's foreign policy." Frankly speaking, I think that both opinions reflect only a superficial knowledge of China. As a matter of fact, no foreign policy makers in any country in the world can afford to follow their inclinations and do whatever they like. The diplomatic decision-making of any country is limited by various domestic and international factors. On the one hand, it is restricted by domestic politics as well as the nation's overall strength. On the other, it changes according to and interacts with the current situation of international political affairs. This said, among the various factors that influence diplomatic decision-making, it is the strategic development intent of the nation that plays the key role. A nation's diplomatic strategy, or, in other words, international strategy, always serves its national development strategy.

Since the end of World War II, there have been incessant changes in the international political arena in terms of the relative strengths of the various forces. The diplomatic strategy of the People's Republic of China has also undergone constant adjustments. The major adjustments are as follows:

First, in 1949, right after the Communist Party of China won the revolutionary victory, in the bipolar world at that time, the new People's Republic proclaimed the "lean-to-one-side" policy and stood firmly on the side of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

Second, in the ensuing years, the contradictions between China and the Soviet Union gradually intensified and were brought in the open in 1960, as could be testified by the most popular slogan among Chinese at that time: "The Soviet revisionism is the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese people!"

Speech at the international symposium on "China: Past Legacies and New Challenges" at the Keio University in Tokyo, Japan, December 18, 1999.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_8

Third, the United States became increasingly hostile to China after the Korean War. In March 1965, the US outrageously interfered with the Indo-China issue by sending troops to Vietnam. China resolutely supported the anti-US national salvation movement of the peoples of the three Indo-China nations. Thus, in the Chinese political slogan, "American imperialism" became "the most ferocious enemy of the peoples all over the world." Since then, Chinese diplomacy entered what came to be known as the "shoot-with-both-hands-and-fight-with-both-fists" period, which was dominated by the ultra-leftist line, resolutely opposing both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Fourth, in the 1970s, the Soviet Union transformed from defensive to aggressively offensive in the international arena. Shortly after President Nixon made his historic visit to China, China established diplomatic relations with Japan and the US. At that time, Mao Zedong proposed the so-called one-straight-line strategy in the hope to "unite all forces that could be united in the world and isolate the Soviet Union to the maximum degree."

Fifth, it was not until China began to implement the policy of reform and opening up after the end of the Cultural Revolution that she explicitly declared the independent and peaceful foreign policy of nonalignment, nonhostility and anti-hegemonism. This represented another major transformation in China's foreign policy.

As mentioned above, there have been a number of changes in China's foreign strategy since 1949. Yet among these changes, only one was of fundamental importance and can be regarded as truly epoch-making. That is, the proposition of the "independent and peaceful" foreign policy in 1982. This transformation was based on the fundamental changes of China's own development strategy as well as on the fundamental changes of China's perception of the outside world. As is known to all, both China's domestic and foreign policies before and after this transformation represented two logically inter-connected and yet quite different eras in China's development. The former can perhaps be called the Mao Zedong Era, while the latter, the Deng Xiaoping Era. The basic characteristic of the Mao Zedong Era is "revolution," while the basic characteristic of the Deng Xiaoping Era is "development." The significant policy shifts in terms of both domestic and foreign relations made during Deng Xiaoping's lifetime did not come to an end after his death. In actual effect, it can perhaps be said that the Deng Xiaoping Era has only just started.

Although the relationship between Deng Xiaoping Theory and Mao Zedong Thought is one of succession, rectification, and logical development, these two sets of theories are obviously quite different in terms of such fundamental issues as the perception of the contemporary era of development, the role China should play in international affairs, the guiding principles, as well as the specific policies to apply in order to achieve China's national goal for socialist modernization.

First, Mao Zedong believed that the contemporary era was still what Lenin labeled "the imperialist era" and "the eve of proletarian revolution." Furthermore, as Mao said, "The life of imperialism won't be long," he believed that revolution and war were the major themes of that era. Yet Deng Xiaoping believed that peace

and development were the major themes of the contemporary era. "The truly great issues in the current world, the issues with global and strategic significance, one is peace and the other is economic development. Peace is an East–west issue, while development is a South–north issue. The latter is the key issue."

Second, with regard to the possibility of a world war crisis, Mao Zedong believed that war was unavoidable because of the confrontations of the two superpowers. He believed that war was not a bad thing as it could give rise to revolution. Especially in the mid-1970s, he thought the Soviet Union had transformed from defensive to offensive in scrambling for hegemony in the world. Thus, not only would a war break out, but it would also break out very soon. In 1975, Mao Zedong noted, "Swallows are flying very low," indicating that a storm was about to come. He thought the crisis of war was closing in with each passing day. However, Deng Xiaoping believed that "within a relatively long period of time, it is impossible that a large-scale world war will break out. It is hopeful to preserve world peace." Deng's argument was, because the only two countries with the capability to fight a world war, the United States and the Soviet Union, "both have the strength to destroy the opposite side," neither dared to fight first. Furthermore, the Third World needed to develop and was inevitably against war; whilst the peoples in the Second World, namely the Japanese and the Europeans, don't want to fight either.

Third, with regard to China's role in international affairs, Mao Zedong believed that, "We are in the new eve of world revolution" (Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee). "China should support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries in the world." "Push forward the revolutionary causes of the international proletariat and world people." Of course these were products of the ultra-leftist thought at that time. Though such ideas were not consistent since the founding of the People's Republic, we cannot deny that they represented the major theme in the Mao Zedong Era. In contrast, Deng Xiaoping believed that it would be the greatest contribution to the world if China could manage her own business well. "China, with a population of one billion, should stick to the road of socialism and uphold the policy of peace. As long as we insist on these two conditions, we will be in the right direction and we can make big contributions to the human race." "Our reform is an experiment not only in China but also in the international context. We are confident in success. If we succeed, we can provide some experience for both the socialist cause and the development of developing countries." In the late 1980s, while placing emphasis on immersing ourselves in construction, Deng Xiaoping proposed, "keep a low profile, develop our strengths and overcome our weaknesses; never try to take the lead, and never claim hegemony."

Fourth, there were changes in the attitudes toward international organizations during the Mao Zedong Era. In the 1950s and 1960s, when many international organizations rejected the People's Republic of China, China regarded them as instruments manipulated by imperialists. Therefore, China adopted the attitude of non-recognition and criticism. After the People's Republic's legitimate position in the United Nations was restored in 1971, China began to adopt a more cooperative

attitude. Furthermore, as of 1982, China already took a positive cooperative attitude toward various international organizations. Today, China actively participates in organizations such as the Disarmament Conference, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), etc., which she had previously criticized on many occasions. These demonstrate the country as a responsible power in international affairs.

Fifth, in dealing with international disputes, in Mao's Era, China would distinguish strictly between a country that was a "friend" and a country that was an "enemy." If a country was believed to be an "enemy," the string of "class struggle" in mind would become tense. "Enemies have never abandoned their attempts to annihilate us." Therefore, in the eyes of Mao, international relations were a "zero-sum game," and we Chinese had to use tactics. Nowadays, since China no longer views any nation as an enemy, she holds an attitude of "seeking common grounds while maintaining differences" toward any nation that has normal relations with China. Disputes should be resolved through negotiation, in which we would make concessions and compromise when necessary. China is striving for a "win-win solution" instead of a "zero-sum game." For example, the recently achieved bilateral agreement on China's re-joining WTO after 13 years of negotiation between China and the US, is a "win-win" agreement. Some problems that were left over by history and cannot be solved at present should be put aside for the time being. In addition, Deng Xiaoping also believed the younger generations would be more intelligent than the current generation, and that they would be able to handle these contentious issues more properly. The key point here is that no country should practice hegemonism. China is resolutely against hegemonism; there is no doubt about this.

Sixth, there have also been extremely great changes in the guiding principles and specific policies of China's socialist modernization. China's understanding of socialism used to be characterized by elements of "utopianism," in addition to "dogmatism." For instance, Mao Zedong believed the eight-level salary scale was also a "bourgeoisie right." He believed that the higher the size and degree of public ownership, the more "socialist," hence the better. "The new-breed of socialist people" should be at the same time workers, peasants, merchants, students as well as soldiers." Many of Mao Zedong's ideas and deeds were not actually acquired from the Soviet Union. Some say that his understanding of "socialism" was a kind of "agricultural socialism." This opinion seems to make some sense to me.

In contrast, Deng Xiaoping wisely divided the concept of "socialism" into two parts, that is, "goals" and "means." The goals will never change: that is, the ideal society we are in pursuit of should be a democratic, equal and prosperous society, without exploitation, without oppression, and it should be suitable for individual development. Aside from this, all the other claims and interpretations of socialism, whether they were made by revolutionary leaders, classic writers or the ordinary people, belong to the "means" of socialism. Means ought to serve goals. If some means cannot be used to attain the goals, other means should be employed. Unsuitable means should be replaced without hesitation, no matter by whom it was formulated. China's transformation from a "planned economy" to a "market

economy" was precisely a good case in point. Deng Xiaoping's proposal of building a socialist country with "Chinese characteristics" is also a wise proposal. Other people need not tell us what to do and what not to do in order to build a "socialist country." Our determination to build socialism is unshakable. But we can reserve plenty of room for rational choice with regard to how to build socialism. That is, whether it is Eastern or Western, ancient or modern; whether it is from socialist countries or capitalist countries; as long as it is effective and suitable for China's conditions, and can serve "socialist goals," we will draw on it and take it over for our own use. Other people shouldn't make a fuss and rebuke it as heresy. As a Western saying goes, "One man's meat is another man's poison." What seems an eyesore to others, could very well be our "Chinese characteristics."

The above was a brief introduction about a few important differences in international and domestic strategies between the Mao Zedong Era and the Deng Xiaoping Era. Understanding these important differences would be very helpful in understanding what is going on in today's China. Having talked about the important differences, I would now like to mention briefly the similarities between the two Eras, which are also essential in understanding today's China.

In my opinion, the most important similarities between the two Eras are as follows:

First of all, both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were determined to build socialism, though there are some differences in their understanding of what a "socialist society" should be like. And like any great historical figures, Mao and Deng had their limitations, too, in both knowledge and practice, due to the historical conditions of their times.

Second, as far as foreign policy is concerned, both Mao and Deng adhered to the following basic principles:

1. Preserving China's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national dignity
2. Striving for an advantageous international strategic position so as to safeguard China's national security
3. Insisting on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and treating foreign countries equally without discriminating between the large and the small, the strong and the weak
4. Resolutely opposing hegemonism

Third, Mao and Deng shared the same general goals in national construction. They both endeavored to build China into a prosperous and affluent socialist country. However, Mao Zedong was a great revolutionary, who excelled in "smashing the Old World." In the Mao Zedong Era, China's many construction achievements, as well as the down-to-earth style in her foreign policy, could actually be attributed to Premier Zhou Enlai's wisdom. Therefore, honestly speaking, Mao's national construction achievements were inferior to those in the Deng Era.

To conclude, the above was a brief comparison of both the differences and the similarities in domestic and foreign policies in the Mao Zedong Era and the Deng Xiaoping Era. To summarize the ideological bases of the two eras, I would simply say that Mao attached importance to "revolution," while Deng attached importance

to "development." If I may, I would also like to borrow a literary term in summarizing Mao's style. That is, a combination of "revolutionary romanticism with revolutionary realism." In Mao's domestic and foreign strategic decision-making, there seemed to be too much romanticism, sometimes even to the degree of utopianism. But I also think that it is flatly wrong to say that Mao was without realism. In foreign relations, he was opposed to both of the superpowers at the same time. He even went so far as to call out "Down with American imperialism!" "Down with Soviet revisionism!" "Down with reactionaries in all countries!" all at once. But he never took reckless actions, nor did he ever try to invite trouble in his diplomatic practice. On the contrary, Deng Xiaoping was a pragmatic person, as was vividly epitomized in one of his famous sayings criticized by Mao Zedong, "A cat that catches mice is a good cat no matter black or white."

At the same time, it is flatly wrong to say that Deng's theory contains no idealist content. It is perhaps safe to argue that Deng was a combination of idealism and pragmatism. Deng had another famous saying, "Wade the river by groping the stones." It is an unshakable goal to reach the other bank of the river. But how? Here, there's no place at all for romanticism or utopianism, simply because the river water could drown people. Thus, we could only take one step at each time, carefully crossing the river by groping the stones in it. This saying, I think, also embodies Deng Xiaoping's pragmatic style.

Chapter 9
Sino-American Relations: A Long View

I am used to being an optimist about Sino–US relations. Although the bilateral relationship exhibits many conflicts and disputes over more than 20 years, and many differences do exist between the two countries (for example, different social systems, different values, ideologies, cultural backgrounds, and historical traditions, etc.), still, you must carefully note one point: relations between the two nations cannot break down thoroughly. It has not happened in the past, and it is hard to imagine it happening in the future. Why? The reason is simple. In today's world, China and the United States have a relationship sharing broad common strategic interests, both political and economic. Such a relationship will not end because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Therefore, in the foreseeable future, neither China nor the United States can take leave of the other. This being the case, can they always maintain a relatively harmonious, stable and normal relationship? This seems unlikely because there are so many conflicts and differences between them, from specific issues of interest to their world views. There are always disputes because of conflicts and a lack of unanimity. Even at their worst, the bickering and quarrels will not lead to a severing of diplomatic ties. Recalling an ambassador may be the lowest point, but should this point be reached, the pendulum would swing back again.

We must review some history here. After the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the Nationalist government of the Kuomintang (KMT) moved back to the capital Nanjing (Nanking) from Chongqing. Of course, the embassies of various countries also moved to Nanjing. When the People's Liberation Army fought across the Yangtze River in 1949, the KMT government moved to Guangzhou (Canton); foreign embassies in China followed the government to Guangzhou, including the Soviet embassy. However, the American ambassador to China at the time, Leighton Stuart, stayed in Nanjing, waiting for the Communists to arrive. Stuart had been president of Yanjing University in Beijing. In 1949 the Communist Party even sent

Lecture given at the Pomona College, USA, in 1996.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_9

an envoy to ask him if he wanted to celebrate his birthday at Yanjing University as usual. But Stuart did not go to Beijing after asking for instructions from the American government.

The Korean War broke out thereafter. On June 27, 1950, President Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Straits. From that moment, the two countries officially became enemies. On the one hand, the United States contained and blockaded China. It seemed as though both sides were irreconcilable. Yet, dramatically, starting in 1954, China and the United States held marathon-like negotiations at the ambassador level. More than 300 meetings were held over 17 or 18 years, from Geneva to Warsaw. In 1971, Kissinger secretly visited China. US President Richard Nixon visited China in February 1972. The two countries issued a joint communiqué in Shanghai stating that: "The U.S. side declared: the United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Straits maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position."

After more negotiations lasting 6 years, a "Communiqué Establishing Sino-American Diplomatic Relations" was issued on December 15, 1978. In this document the United States declared, "the United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." As everyone knows, the establishment of diplomatic ties left one problem unresolved, namely, United States' arms sales to Taiwan.

What does this stage of history tell us? Why did the two nations sit down to negotiate when they were enemies? More than 20 years of negotiations tell us that there were fundamental differences on many issues. Despite these differences, both sides had sufficient patience to pursue negotiations, which indicates that both had needs. The problem of US arms sales to Taiwan is an extremely important matter. Why did both sides hurry to declare diplomatic relations established without an agreement on this important issue? Because both sides had needs.

After diplomatic ties were established, the US Congress began debating "the Taiwan relations act" proposed by the Carter administration. After a 2-month debate, the final version of the act which was passed was unacceptable to China. Shortly after the transient "China craze" diplomatic achievement, this was the first low tide in the bilateral relationship.

At the time, there were various predictions about what would happen in US–China relations. But because of fundamental interests, neither side wanted to worsen relations. The result was a third communiqué, after the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué and the 1978 one establishing diplomatic relations. In this Communiqué of "August 17" (1982), the US government stated that: "It does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations

between the United States and China and that it intends gradually to reduce its sale of arms to Taiwan, leading, over a period of time, to a final resolution."

My intention in reviewing the history above is to make it clear that the United States and China have broad common strategic interests in political and economic terms. Thus their relations will not thoroughly rupture. (Everyone knows what these strategic interests are without my spelling them out.) Nevertheless, bickering will continue because of sharp conflicts and differences (in particular, before China is unified, the issue of Taiwan is a big fuse in Sino-American relations).

Is it possible that sensible statesmen in China and the United States can think of better ways to handle bilateral relations? Yes, indeed. If the United States and China, the two global giants, could lessen tensions in their relationship, more than simply benefiting both countries, this would be advantageous to world peace and stability.

The United States does not lack sensible people. For example, in a recent issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (October 30, 1995), editor-in-chief Mortimer B. Zuckerman wrote an editorial entitled "America's China Syndrome." In the article, the author points out that "China is neither a strategic nor an ideological adversary." As China will certainly have a growing and profound influence in global business, finance and politics, the Sino-American relationship will become most important as the two countries move into the twenty-first century. The author argues that "we must develop a sense of proportion and try to see things from China's point of view."

For another example, James A. Baker III, former U.S. Secretary of State under President George Bush, gave a keynote speech at a conference entitled "China, the U.S. and Asia: Challenges for U.S. Policy and Business." The conference was called by the Asia Society, in Houston, on February 9–10, 1996. Baker said it was in the United States' interest to maintain a stance of principled engagement with China. He was against linkage of human rights to Most Favored Nation status on the left, and the idea of China as an aggressor nation that was exporting revolution and that required a policy of containment on the right. He was in favor of a policy coming from the reasoned, expert center. He emphasized repeatedly that China should not be treated with hostility and suspicion, and that if China wished to join world organizations like GATT and the World Trade Organization, the US would have to comply. He cautioned the assembly to refrain from seeing China as an enemy. "If you look for an enemy, you'll find an enemy."

At the same conference, another keynote speaker, Winston Lord, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, commented that the US–China relationship was one of the most pivotal for the twenty-first century. Lord drew polite laughter when he characterized the relationship between the US and China as sweet and sour, and said that while there had been ups and downs, culminating in the low point last summer over issues regarding Taiwan, "both countries must maintain the long-term perspective as they navigate a series of minefields, including the US elections, the mood in Congress and China in its transition."

Thus, there are plenty of areas of friction in the relationship between the two countries. The crux of the matter is whether the two countries have sufficient mutual

understanding. How should one get to know China? One must first understand that China is a giant. In saying that China is a giant, this immediately makes one think of her huge population.

China does have a great number of people. China has benefited from its strict family planning policy for more than a decade. Still, its population stands now at 1.2 billion. The annual population birth rate is approximately 1.8 %; subtracting the annual natural death rate of 0.66 %, this is an approximate annual increase of 1.14 %. Adding 1.14 % to the base of 1.2 billion means more than 10 million people annually, and this figure gradually is increasing over the years. (Some Western politicians have earned cheap political capital by condemning China's family planning policy, saying that it violates human rights, especially a person's "right to give birth.") Such a big population means, even with family planning policy in place, it will increase to 1.3 billion by the year 2000, and to 1.4 billion by the year 2010. With the population growing so rapidly, in one decade it will increase by 100 million. If we don't practice family planning, what else can we do?

With more people, everyone needs a job, food, and clothing. These needs are not easy to meet. What can we do? Where should the more than ten million people annually born in China go?

When there are too many people, there will not be enough food to eat. Hungry stomachs cause turmoil. If China allowed its population to grow fast, would it not affect the development of the entire world? If those who account for one-fifth of the world's population went into turmoil, for example, in expanded civil war or another Cultural Revolution, and thousands and millions fled overseas, wouldn't we call that a global catastrophe?

Considering the global situation, at present the population of the entire world is 5.7 billion, with more than 800 million famine victims. The report of the September 1994 World Population Conference convened in Cairo said if blind growth continues, 20 years from now, the global population may reach ten billion. At that time the world will experience food scarcity, and many countries will fall deeper into poverty.

India's present population is 926 million, with an annual increase of 18 million people. At the end of this century, it will surpass the one billion mark. In 40 years, India will surpass China, while its land area is only one quarter the size of China.

China is said to be a giant not only because of her great number of people but also because of her lengthy history—a civilization of 5,000 years, which has experienced both highs and lows. Every age and time has left its legacies to the 1.2 billion people. In other words, history is deep-rooted among the Chinese people. China has painstakingly sought to modernize for more than 150 years. In recent years, some people have advocated abandoning the loess (yellow earth) civilization in favor of going toward the blue oceans. I am afraid that the loess civilization will never become a maritime civilization even though it is said that time brings great changes to the world (literally, "seas change into mulberry fields and mulberry fields into seas") and that change in this world is normal. It is impossible for things to remain the same.

When two different civilizations come into contact, there is at first mutual discomfort and then gradual absorption of things that are easy to absorb. (By the way, the controversial viewpoints in Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* are too pessimistic. The facts are different.) Thus it is impossible for the loess civilization to remain unchanged. Still, after many years of changes back and forth, I am afraid that China essentially remains a loess civilization. Of course, in youth some people did jump into the blue oceans. After several years of bathing, seemingly no loess scent can be detected on them. However, on the day that their feet step back on Chinese soil, the loess civilization will quickly inundate them. This is the power of the 5,000-year-long Chinese civilization.

China walks in her own way. She has been walking for 5,000 years; she will not easily change. China will change, but gradually. In China's history there were few dramatic changes. At times there appeared to be earthshaking changes but then after a while things more or less would change back. Such obstinacy is rooted in China's 5,000-year-old civilization. You hope that she will change quickly. This is impossible! Whether you contain China, or impose pressure in hopes that she will tread the path which you are used to, it is just impossible! You should not hope that China will follow behind you step by step, closely behind. It seems that this is something that will never happen. This is the second layer of meaning when I said that it must be understood that China is a giant.

There is a third layer of meaning to the phrase, "China is a giant," and that is, China is self-assured. Although at present China is still poor and backward, she absolutely will not kneel down before any strong power. In China, a principle for being an upright person goes, "not to be subdued by force." Under conditions of the two opposing camps, China allied with the Soviet Union. When the Sino–Soviet relations worsened, the Soviets thought, "the United States is your enemy. Who will you rely on, if not us?" Yet China resolutely split with the Soviet Union. Why? On May 16, 1989, when Mikhail Gorbachev met with Deng Xiaoping in Beijing, Deng told him, regarding the chief reason for the worsening of Sino–Soviet relations, "I don't mean it was because of the ideological disputes; we no longer think that everything we said at that time was right. The basic problem was that the Chinese were not treated as equals and felt humiliated." ("Put the Past Behind and Open a New Era," in *Selected Works* of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, p. 287.) At the time, the Soviet Union did not treat China as an equal, in terms of neither Party relations nor state relations. The Soviet Union posed as "the wisest authority under heaven." Starting with the Opium War, the Chinese people had a painful century of aggression and enslavement by foreign powers. Now the Chinese people will definitely not follow the tune of any other state. You must never forget this when dealing with China!

The final layer of meaning of China as a giant is that she will not collapse easily. She is like an enormous boat. Boats do not sink easily because water has great buoyancy. The Soviet Union has collapsed and there has been tremendous change in Eastern Europe, so many predict that China will follow suit. Can the final domino remain standing when all tiles in the front have fallen? Unfortunately, events have not come about as some expected! China did not topple; she still stands erect in the

east, holding high her banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Why did things happen like this? Isn't it worth pondering?

As I said above, China is like a big boat floating on the sea. At any time strong young lads or mates who do not understand things may be playing on the deck. They willfully turn somersaults, box, or fight. But all this only jostles the boat a bit; it will never sink. After the disturbance, it will navigate its own course as before. More than 10 years ago, Professor Allen S. Whiting of the University of Arizona said, "If China can survive the Cultural Revolution, she can survive everything." This indicates his deep understanding of China.

As a colossus, China cannot change her tracks easily. She will not collapse easily. Since the world is so small, you have to coexist with her. To coexist, you need to understand her. To have a thorough understanding is not easy since China is too complicated.

Many things in the world can be categorized simply. But China is a unique category. China is a socialist country. Yet from Mao Zedong to Deng Xiaoping, you cannot analyze their thoughts or behavior simply by looking up Marxism in a textbook. They believed in Marxism. This is one side of the coin. On the other, they are Chinese. Marxism, the doctrine which they followed all their lives, has been deeply and imperceptibly influenced by 5,000 years of Chinese traditional culture. Mao and Deng's Marxism bears a Chinese stamp.

Let me give an example here. Former American President Richard Nixon opposed communism his entire life. After he resigned his post following the Watergate scandal, his reputation was not much to speak of. No one believed that he would make a political comeback to power in America. So, why was he accorded the most courteous receptions on each subsequent visit to China? Not only Nixon, but also former Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei received the same reception in China. Western politicians who are fastidious about realism cannot understand this. You cannot find the answer in Marxist textbooks, either. Actually, it has nothing to do with Marxism. It is entirely based on the Confucian teaching that if a person gives you a good turn, you should never forget it. At the time both Nixon and Tanaka prevailed over all dissenting views and had the final say in establishing diplomatic relations with China. From Mao to Deng, both adhered to this Confucian teaching.

China is so complex that she is hard to understand. But hard to understand does not mean impossible to understand. If you do not understand, that is because you have limited or no knowledge about China. Or it may be that your subjective emotions are too strong. Emotional factors prevent you from correctly observing China. I believe that there are two kinds of people in the world who definitely should not be swayed by emotion: statesmen and social scientists. If statesmen act impetuously, there will be great chaos under heaven. If scholars, whose research influences both public opinion and policy makers, are swayed by feelings, they will talk nonsense. The results of their research will have no scientific nature to speak of.

Some people do not like China. This creates a certain feeling. As soon as China is mentioned, such people are negative. When they think of China, their first impression is of blue ants laboring en masse. When talking about China, they say that the bad is

bad, and that the good is bad too. Such feelings are the liberty of ordinary people. We naturally cannot ask every single American to join the US–China Friendship Association, just as we cannot ask each Chinese to like the United States. But as scholars or scientists, we should firmly adhere to scientific principles of academia, and speak according to facts. We should not be swayed by emotions.

In the preceding text, I have said a lot about China. Actually, the United States is also a big player in this small world. I do not want to say much about how to understand the United States. America has its traditions and history to be proud of. In American society today, there are many extremely progressive things and, of course, some things that are not so glorious. No matter what, as I see it, the United States will continue on her own track. Neither the good things nor the bad things will be changed easily. Some people in America feel uncomfortable about China, just as some people in China do not feel comfortable about the United States. The point is that both sides must understand that it is fundamentally impossible to change the other completely. In my view, two such giants in this world will go on living as they have in the past, whether you like it or not.

Therefore, both sides should learn how to coexist with the other in peace. Since China and the United States have many common strategic and economic interests, they should brainstorm about how to seek common ground while reserving differences, and cooperate for mutual benefit. Whether they can get along peacefully has an impact not only on the vital interests of the people of both countries, but also on peace, stability, growth, and progress of the Asia-Pacific region as well as the entire world. Otherwise, if the two giants mishandle their relationship, it would be disastrous for the entire world.

Chapter 10
Prosperity of Chinese Buddhism and Its Contributions to World Peace

The issue of world peace is the most important and most pressing one in world politics of today, and safeguarding world peace has become a common task of primary importance for the peoples of all countries. I have lived in Europe the recent year and have seen with my own eyes that the peoples of European countries are taking an active part in the struggle against nuclear weapons, nuclear threat, and nuclear arms race. They oppose the deployment of both the SS-20 and the Pershing II missiles.

Yet our conference being held here in Japan and attended by scholars from all parts of the world, I think, is of greater importance. As we all know, Japan was the first victim of atomic bomb in human history, and I hope no country would be the second. So, first of all, allow me to express my sympathy and solicitude to the Japanese people who suffered from the nuclear disaster caused by the two atomic bombs dropped here 40 years ago, the consequences of which are still being felt. Allow me to extend my heartfelt respects to the great Japanese people and the outstanding Japanese peace fighters who have persevered for 29 years in the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs since the first World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in 1955.

Now permit me to introduce briefly the development of Chinese Buddhism and its contribution to the cause of world peace.

10.1 Flourishing Development of Buddhism in Contemporary China

It has been 2,000 years since the arrival of Buddhism in China. Buddhism was first introduced to China in early 2 B.C., and it spread as a formal religion in A.D. 67 (Eastern Han Dynasty). During the Wei (220–265), Jin (265–420), and the Northern

Article published in *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace* by the Peace Research Institute of Soka University in Tokyo, Japan, in 1986.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_10

and Southern dynasties (420–589), Buddhism spread throughout the country and was in full flourish in the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties.[1]

Buddhism provided a great impetus to the development of Chinese culture. Traces of Buddhism are clearly discernible in Chinese philosophy, ethics, literature, art, and other cultural areas. Chinese Buddhism has been handed down from generation to generation. Its different schools contended with one another bequeathing us a wealth of important cultural heritage. For 2,000 years or so, despite hardships, many eminent monks and scholars went on pilgrimage to India to acquire Buddhist scriptures, translated them into Chinese, and cut blocks to print them and disseminate the religion among the masses. They have left behind a great deal of Buddhist works.[2] Some original scriptures have been lost in India, but their Chinese versions, sometimes even original copies, are well preserved in our country. Spreading in China, Buddhism has propagated its religious doctrines vividly with the aid of highly developed Chinese art. On the other hand, it has also enriched Chinese culture and given an impetus to the development of Chinese painting, carving, and handicraft art. There are a lot of remains of Buddhist art in China, such as the Dunhuang frescoes; the stone carvings and grottos in Yungang, Longmen, and Maiji Mount; the architecture of the Potala Palace and South Buddhist Temple; the Leshan Giant Buddha, the Wild Goose Pagoda, and the Steel Pagoda; as well as the Fangshan Stone Scriptures. Located in different parts of the country, all of them are priceless treasures of Buddhist art.

After the Sui and Tang dynasties, Chinese Buddhism went downhill gradually. The year 1840 witnessed the Opium War. From then on, China was reduced to the

[1] All the doctrines of Indian Buddhism, including those of the early, middle, and late stages of its development, have been introduced to China. Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) developed in the middle stage and arrived in central China in the second century and evolved into Chinese Buddhism. And then it spread to Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and other Asian countries and regions. In the seventh century, Buddhism was further spread to Tibet in Western China, respectively, from India and Nepal. From the eleventh century on, Tantrism (esoteric branch) that flourished in the late stage of Indian Buddhism was introduced to Tibet and evolved into Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism), which is believed by Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Tu, Qiang, Yugu, and other Chinese minorities. Then it was also introduced to Sikkim, Bhutan, Mongolia, and some European and American countries. During the period of King Aśoka (273–232 B.C.), Aryasthaviranikāya shaped in the early stage of Indian Buddhism spread southward to Sri Lanka and then to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, evolving into Pali Buddhism. After the tenth century it spread to China's Yunnan Province through Burma and is mainly believed by Dai, Bulang, Benglong, Wa and some other Chinese minorities. Differentiating by languages of its scriptures, Buddhism is currently divided into three branches: Chinese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) and Pali Buddhism. All the three branches of Buddhism coexist in China.

[2] Buddhist scriptures preserved in China are huge in number. With respect to Chinese Buddhism, there are 1,482 sets of translated scriptures in 5,702 volumes. In addition, important Buddhist works in the Chinese language total 100,000 volumes. At present, China is editing the Chinese Tripitaka (Chinese Great Scripture Store, Chinese part), including 23,000 volumes. As to Lamaism, the Tibetan Tripitaka "Bka'-'Gyur" includes 5,962 sets of translated scriptures. The Tibetan Buddhist works are also enormous. Besides, there are a large number of translated scriptures in Dai language (Pali Buddhist scriptures) and Dai Buddhist works.

status of a semifeudal and semicolonial society. The weakness of the country affected the development of Buddhism, which became seriously contaminated by superstition and ignorance in some regions. Although many eminent monks dedicated themselves to the revival of Chinese Buddhism, they were incapable of action due to the limited social conditions.

Chinese Buddhism had not had any opportunity to revive until the founding of New China in 1949. In 1953, the Chinese Buddhist Association, a nation-wide united organization of Buddhist disciples of different schools and ethnic groups, was established. On May 30, 1953, 120 representatives of Living Buddhas, Lammas, Masters, and Lay Buddhists of seven ethnic groups (Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Dai, Manchu, and so on) held the inaugural meeting of the Chinese Buddhist Association at Guangji Temple in Beijing. Afterward, the Second and Third Representative Assemblies were held in 1957 and 1962, respectively. Until the Cultural Revolution in 1966, the Association developed smoothly. It did a great deal of work in Buddhist training, collating and publishing Buddhist works and magazines, doing Buddhist studies, renovating Buddhist venues, and preserving and sorting out Buddhist relics. Moreover, regional Buddhist associations were also established one after another in many provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions.

During the 10 years of turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese Buddhism, like other cultural undertakings, experienced an unheard-of calamity and was on the verge of extinction. Having smashed the "Gang of Four," the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government cleared away the pernicious influence of the "leftist" line and brought order out of chaos. The Fourth Representative Assembly of the Chinese Buddhist Association, held at the end of 1980, was attended by 250 representatives from Buddhist circles of eight ethnic groups (Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Dai, Manchu, Tu, Yugu, and Naxi) in 27 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. The assembly marked the turning point when Chinese Buddhism began to revive after a number of false starts during the 10 years of turmoil.

At present, the flourishing of Chinese Buddhism finds expression mainly in the following areas:

First, large numbers of Buddhist temples in both Han and minority regions have been renovated and reopened. Many of them are well-known places of historic interest and scenic beauty, such as the four famous mountains (Wutai, Emei, Putuo, and Jiuhua), Yonghe Lama Temple and Fayuan Temple in Beijing, Longhua Temple and Yuanming Rostrum in Shanghai, Guoqing Temple in Tiantai Mountain (Zhejiang Province), Tiantong Temple and Yuwang Temple in Ningbo, Qixia Temple and Jiming Temple in Nanjing, Daming Temple in Yangzhou, Xiangji Temple in Xi'an, Qianshan Longquan Temple in Liaoning, Xishi Convent in Guangxi, Gandan Monastery in Lhasa, Tashilhunpo Monastery in Xigazê, and so on. Religious activities at these temples and those of other Buddhist groups take place smoothly following Buddhist principles.

Second, good progress has been made in Buddhist education. The Chinese Buddhism College with a research department in it was set up in 1956, providing

both undergraduate and graduate courses. In 1962, it added a department of Tibetan language.

Before the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of Buddhists with fairly high attainment of Buddhism were trained at the college. After the collapse of the "Gang of Four," the Buddhism institute was reopened. In 1982, 39 monk students graduated. In the same year the college started an undergraduate course with 50 students studying there. In addition, it sent two graduates and four undergraduates to Japan for advanced studies. In November 1982, a special training school was set up at Qixiashan in Nanjing (at present a section of the Chinese Buddhism College), from which more than 160 monk students have completed their studies. In Suzhou, Fujian, Shanghai, Chengdu, Buddhism colleges, for both monk and bhikkhuni students, have been set up. In Tibet, Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) Colleges have also been established. Moreover, many principal temples also train young monks from nearby areas.

Third, the publishing of Buddhist scriptures and works has developed very rapidly. After the rebuilding of the famous Jinling Kejingchu (Jinling Block Printing Scriptures Service), which was first set up in 1865, it has collected a lot of blocks of scriptures and supplied the missing parts. Being the center with 150,000 blocks of scriptures and Buddhist pictures, it has printed a vast amount of Buddhist books and pictures, including the important works of different Buddhist schools and complete works of Monk Xuan-Zang (Tripitakacarya) and his translations.[3] It also produces gold-plated pictures of the Buddha and other Buddhist pictures in Tibetan style.

Academic studies of Buddhism are widely organized. The Beijing Sanshi Society (a well-known institute of Buddhism studies in China founded in 1921) has done a lot of work in translating Buddhist scriptures and works, collating historical materials of Buddhism, and conducting Buddhism studies. At the request of the Buddhist circles of Sri Lanka, Chinese scholars drafted more than 400 entries (two million words) for the Buddhism Encyclopedia (English edition). Since 1956, scholars have carried out much research into the Beijing Fangshan Stone Scriptures. Through 3 years' excavation, they have made seven sets of rubbings (totalling 14,270 pieces). Thus, this rare treasure can once more be opened up before our eyes and demonstrate their mystical charm. The scriptures were carved on flagstone over

[3] Famous Buddhist scholars from the mainland of China, Ouyang Jian and Lu Cheng, dedicated 10 years (from 1927 to 1937) to choosing 70 sets of sutras, commandments, and treatises from a tremendous amount of Chinese Buddhist scriptures and updated three volumes of "Zangyao" (Essentials of Tripitaka). Checking the Chinese translations against the original texts in Sanskrit and Pali languages, and the Tibetan-translated texts, Lu Cheng compared the different editions including Song, Yuan, Ming, and post-Ming dynasties, as well as the Korean edition, and finally made corrections or indicated their differences on it. Therefore, the three volumes of "Zangyao" are of great academic value. Previously, Buddhist circles in Taiwan Province published the photo-offset copy of the second volume of "Zangyao." This is the only volume they preserve, while it is difficult to find the rest two volumes. The Chinese "Jinling Kejingchu" in Nanjing (Jinling Block Printing Scriptures Service) preserves the paper molds of all the three volumes. This year (1984), China has started printing them for circulation.

1,000 years from the Jin Dynasty to the Ming (1368–1644). The flagstones were then hidden in nine stone caves and under the "Yajing Pagoda."[4] Since their discovery scholars have made a serious investigation of principal Buddhist pagodas throughout the country. They have published 144 issues of *Modern Buddhism* and started to publish the comprehensive Buddhism magazine *Dharmaghosa* (*The Voice of Dharma*) in 1981. Now *Dharmaghosa* has been published to the 15th issue. Every issue printed 14,000 copies. In May 1980, the Chinese Buddhist Library was set up, with a collection of 12,000 volumes of Buddhist works and valuable relics.[5] Moreover, the library also edits and publishes a large amount of Buddhist translations.[6]

[4] The initial results have been yielded in collating and studying the Fangshan Stone Scriptures: scholars have completed the catalog of the Stone Scriptures, collated the preface and postscript of the scriptures, and compiled the book *Fangshan Liuju Temple Stone Scriptures*. In this process, it has been determined that the master copy of the Stone Scriptures carved in the Liao Period was "Qianjing" (Qidan canon) which had been lost long before. This is an important find in the history of "Tripitaka" printing.

[5] In May 1980, the Chinese Buddhist Library was set up at the Fayuan Temple in Beijing. Through gradual replenishment, it has already taken shape. Now it preserves 120,000 Tibetan books. For scriptures only, it collects the Fangshan Stone Scriptures; different editions of "Tripitaka," including Nancang (printed in 1412–1417), Beicang (printed in 1421–1440), Jiaxingcang (printed in 1589–1677), and Qingke (printed in the Qing Dynasty); as well as several editions of Tibetan Tripitaka, "Bka'-'gyur" (Translation of the Buddha-Word), and "Bstan-'gyur" (Translation of Teachings). The Rare Book Room in the library preserves Tang Dynasty's handwritten scriptures and the rare copies of Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties' block printing scriptures and works. In addition, while collecting large numbers of valuable relics, the library has renovated a 7-m-long Ming Dynasty wooden figure of Sleeping Buddha and some other Buddhist relics.

[6] In recent years, the Chinese Buddhist Association has compiled and translated a large number of important Buddhist works. For example, it has translated "Pramānasamuccaya" written by the Indian Hetuvidya scholar Master Dignaga in the fifth century and its commentary "Pramāna-vārtika" written by the Indian Hetuvidya scholar Dharmkīrti from Tibetan into Chinese. These two works are comprehensive expressions of the Hetuvidya and attract special attention from scholars studying Hetuvidya and Logic. The late Chancellor of the Chinese Buddhism College, famous Tibetan scholar Ven. Fazhun, translated these two works into Chinese and compiled "Brief Explanation of Pramāna-vārtika in the light of Dashu" ("Nyāyapraveśatārakaśātrabhās, ya") written by the first Dalai Lama Dge-'Dun Grub-Pa (1391–1474). Moreover, he has translated "Sandhinirmocanavyhasūtra-bhās, ya" (late six volumes) from Tibetan into Chinese which are the fundamental works among the "Liujing Shiyilun" (Six Scriptures and Eleven Treatises) of Buddhist Fa-hsiang. These works were written by Ven. Yuance (613–696, Tang Dynasty) and had been lost before the Qing Dynasty. In the late Qing Dynasty, the Lay Buddhist Yang Renshan found the first part of the works, but its late six volumes were lost. While the Tibetan Scripture "Bka'-'gyur" includes the full translated text of "Sandhinir-mocanavyhasūtra-bhās, ya," translated from Chinese by late Tang's Master Fachen. A member of the Standing Council of the Chinese Buddhist Association and famous Tibetan language specialist Ven. Guankong translated the late six volumes of "Sandhinirmocanavy-hasfftra-bhis, ya" and brought the Chinese version of these works to full strength. Besides, a member of the Council of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Pali language specialist, the Lay Buddhist Yejun, translated from Pali the important works "Visuddhimagga" written by the Indian Master Buddhaghosa in the fifth century. In addition, China has also published *Series of Academic Work on Chinese Buddhism*, *Story of Chinese Buddhism*, *Answers to Questions about Buddhism* (written by Zhao Puchu), and some other Buddhist books.

10.2 Joint Efforts in Safeguarding World Peace

In recent years, the contacts between Buddhists in China and those in other countries all over the world have been frequent. It is, by itself, one of the important steps for safeguarding the world. Moreover, Chinese Buddhist circles often sponsor and actively participate in international Buddhist activities for promoting world peace.

It was in early October 1952, when the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions was held in Beijing, that Buddhist representatives of China, Burma, Japan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia, and Vietnam issued the "Statement of Buddhists Attending Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions," demonstrating their wish and determination to be friendly and to cooperate in safeguarding world peace.

At this meeting Zhao Puchu, an eminent Buddhist and famous Buddhist scholar and leader of peace movement, on behalf of the Chinese Buddhist circles, asked the Japanese representatives to present a figure of Guanyin (Avalokitesvara) to the Japanese Buddhist circles. The next year, the Chinese Buddhist Association received a warm reply from the Japanese Buddhist circles. That was the start of contact between the Buddhists of the two countries after the founding of New China. Being a symbol of peace and friendship, Bodhisattva Guanyin is respected by both Japanese and Chinese Buddhist believers. From then on, contacts between Chinese Buddhist circles and those of other countries have become more and more frequent.

From the inception, the friendly contacts of Sino-Japanese Buddhists have been concerned with the healing of the wounds of war and maintaining world peace. In 1953, the Executive Committee of Making Offerings to the Spirits of Chinese Martyrs Who Died in Japan, headed by Ven. Keijun Otani and Ven. Sugahara Eke, was established. The committee collected remains of the dead buried beneath some dozens of Japanese mines, ports, and military engineering sites and returned them to China in nine separate groups. At the same time, China made everything convenient for 30,000 Japanese nationals living in China to return to Japan. Master Buddhist Zhao Puchu went to Shanghai to see them off and delivered a speech upon their departure.

In 1961, the movement to collect signatures for pledging "No war between China and Japan," initiated by Ven. Onishi Ryoke and Ven. Keijun Otani, united many well-known figures around the banner of Sino-Japanese friendship. In May of the same year, Ven. Keijun Otani and Ven. Nishicava Kaibun visited China and gave the signature book to the Chinese Buddhist Association in person. Zhao Puchu accepted this valuable present on behalf of the Association.

Representatives of Chinese Buddhists have been to Japan to attend conferences against atomic and hydrogen bombs many times.

In 1962 and 1963, the Buddhist and cultural circles of China and Japan held the joint commemorative meetings for the 1,200th anniversary of the death of Monk Jian-Zhen (687–763). The normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in 1972

coincided with the twentieth anniversary of the arrival of Guanyin's statue in Japan. From then on, Buddhist organizations for Sino-Japanese friendship were set up one after another, and contacts between Buddhists in the two countries became even more frequent. They jointly held religious meetings, renovated temples, published Buddhist books, and held exhibitions. It was of special importance that the sculpture of Monk Jian-Zhen returned to China for a roving exhibition. This great event took place only once in a 1,000 years and laid a sound foundation for the friendship of the two peoples to grow generation after generation.

In 1961 and 1964, the Chinese Buddhist circles, together with other Chinese religious circles, organized a delegation and attended the first and second peace conferences of religious believers of all countries held in Japan.

Moreover, the friendly contacts of the Chinese Buddhist circles with the Buddhist circles of the Southeast Asian countries are also very frequent. For example, the representatives of Chinese Buddhist circles and those of India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, and Indonesia regularly visit one another. In 1955 and 1961, at the request of Burma and Sri Lanka, some Chinese Buddhist relics and a tooth relic of the Buddha were sent to the two countries for the local peoples to appreciate. In 1956, Chinese Buddhist delegates went, respectively, to Burma, India, and Nepal to attend the international commemorative activities for the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha's nirvana. In January 1963, in order to support the just struggle of Buddhists in South Vietnam against persecution by their reactionary authorities, the Chinese Buddhist circles initiated the conference of Buddhists of 11 Asian countries and regions and issued the "Address to Buddhists All Over the World." In 1964, China invited Buddhist delegates from more than a dozen Asian countries to Beijing to attend the commemorative activities for the 1,300th anniversary of Monk Xuan-Zang's death and the unveiling ceremony of the Buddha Tooth Pagoda. The Cultural Revolution interrupted such friendly contacts for a time. Yet, after the collapse of the "Gang of Four," contacts have been resumed and spread from individual factions to all the factions and scholars. The roving exhibition of the sculpture of Monk Jian-Zhen in China, as I mentioned above, was a great event in the history of Sino-Japanese Buddhist relations. Afterward, the Chinese Buddhist circles held several religious meetings jointly with principal Japanese Buddhist schools: Jōdo-shū, Sōtō-shū, Nichiren-shū, and Tendai-shū. In 1978, the Bengalese government and its Buddhist Association sent a delegation to China to meet the remains of "Atisa" and held a Buddhist meeting with the Chinese Buddhist Association. In 1983, the Chinese Buddhist Delegation attended the International Science Symposium in commemoration of the 1,000th Anniversary of Atisa's birth. In 1982, the Chinese delegation for meeting the image of Buddha visited Thailand, attended the ceremony of handing over three images of Buddha, and was kindly received by the Buddhist King of Thailand. In the same year, China sent a delegation to the World Conference of Religious Leaders and Scholars held by the Cultural Ministry of Sri Lanka. Moreover, China has received friendly visits of Buddhist scholars from India, Australia, the United States, and many other countries time and again. The principal purpose of these contacts is to promote world peace.

The Chinese Buddhist circles take an active part in many meetings of international religious organizations. In 1979, Chinese Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic circles organized a joint delegation to attend the Third World Religious Peace Conference (WRPC) in Princeton, USA. More than 400 delegates from more than 40 countries attended. The famous Chinese Buddhist Zhao Puchu was elected vice chairman of the WRPC. At this conference, the Chinese delegation and the Japanese delegation jointly called for a united delegation of WRPC, whose mission was to go to the nuclear countries and persuade them to issue a proclamation of commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In 1983, almost 20 leaders of WRPC organized a delegation to visit China and were kindly received by the leaders of the Chinese government. Nevertheless, it was a great pity that their request to visit other nuclear countries including the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and France was not accepted by these countries. On August 23–31, 1984, more than 600 delegates from more than 60 countries attended the fourth WRPC in Nairobi, the Republic of Kenya. The Chinese delegate Zhao Puchu was elected one of the ten chairmen of WRPC. At the conference, the Chinese delegation and the Japanese delegation repeatedly put the joint suggestion that a delegation of WRPC leaders visit the nuclear countries.

In 1981, the Chinese Buddhist, Christian, and Islamic circles organized a united Chinese religious delegation to attend the Asian Religious Peace Conference in India.

All the friendly activities of the Chinese Buddhists I mentioned above have played a positive role in furthering mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese people and the peoples of other countries and made a great contribution to maintaining world peace.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words on the question: Why was the delegation of WRPC received kindly in China? It is very clear that both the Chinese people and the Chinese government are eager for, not only love, world peace. Our country is undertaking peaceful construction on an unprecedented scale. A major goal is to quadruple its 1980 annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century and to raise the level of material and cultural life of the people correspondingly. As we know, owing to the weak foundations left over from old China and the twists and turns we went through in the recent past, it will take another 30–50 years for us to get close to or catch up with the present level of the developed countries, even when we have reached the goal of quadrupling our annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century. A peaceful international environment is essential to any country engaged in peaceful construction, the more so for China, a developing socialist country with a population of one billion.

Since China is eager for peace, why does it still maintain nuclear weapons? In our hearts, we are unwilling to spend even one cent on nuclear weapons which can neither be eaten as food nor be worn as clothes. The small limited number of nuclear weapons China has to keep at present is solely aimed at resisting nuclear blackmail and intimidation by the superpowers and at helping the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has long

undertaken the unilateral commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to use them against nonnuclear states or nuclear-free zones. If the other nuclear states are ready to discuss the reduction of nuclear weapons, China will participate. The Chinese people resolutely support the statement made by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report on the work of the government: "We will support any practical proposal for disarmament which is in keeping with the fundamental principle that the two superpowers take the lead in reducing their arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons."

Chapter 11
On "Buddhism of Human Society"

After all, what kind of religion is Buddhism? In my understanding, judging from its origin and doctrines, Buddhism is not simply of the other world, but of this world at the same time. It is Buddhism of human society, not of heaven.

Buddhist scriptures often say: "The human body is difficult to achieve." Bountiful discussions are made on the preciousness of the human body and human life. Buddhism stresses that all lives may have Buddha nature, but they have to acquire human bodies to become Buddha. In *Ekottarikagama* we find: "All the Buddhas are from human society and do not become Buddhas in heaven."

Buddha was born into this world. In this world, He became Buddha, preached the dharma, and practiced the pāramitā—freeing of self and other human beings from miseries. According to Buddhist scriptures, He taught industriously throughout the years after His Enlightenment and His footmarks were widespread on both sides of the Ganges. His disciples were of all colors and ranks—from kings, nobles, rich merchants, and scholars to beggars and slaves. He abandoned the royal life and devoted Himself to the pursuit of wisdom and truth and the cause to enlighten people. He was tireless in discovering truth and passing it into the minds of others. His objective throughout His Buddhahood in this world was to rescue the society and human beings. To realize His preposition of freeing man and rescuing society, He formed the Sangha and led them to the country and cities to beg alms and preach the dharma to purify this world. Buddha also labored with the Sangha, to clear the ground, draw water, repair houses, and care for patients. He opposed the caste system, respected women, and accepted them into Buddhism. Overall, Buddha did all He could for the human society. He engaged Himself in this world instead of staying aloof from society and human affairs.

Buddha is of this world. So is the dharma. Much of the dharma and the various forms of benevolence are concerned with the welfare of society and the livelihood

Speech at the fifth international seminar on "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace," December 1–6, 1989, Ulan Bator, Mongolia.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_11

of people. Among the benevolent behaviors are tree planting, dredging of river courses, ferrying, well sinking, handing out medicine to the poor, and building bridges, inns, baths, etc. That may be why, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, there are words like: "The dharma is to be realized nowhere but in this world; to seek Buddha outside this world would be like looking for horns of the rabbit."

Buddhism has the idea of "Pure Land." We often hear that if one has cultivated oneself well enough according to the rules and disciplines of Buddhism, in afterlife he may live in "Pure Land," or "the world of uttermost joy." The idea of "Pure Land" first appeared in Āgamasūtra, where it can refer to either "Pure Land" in heaven or "Pure Land" on earth. Maitreya was born a Brāhmana and later became a disciple of Buddha. One sutra of Maitreya says that when Maitreya died he rose to the world of uttermost joy. But another sutra, *Maitreyāvyakarana*, has it that Maitreya will come down to this world again, where he is to become Buddha under Nāga-puspa and to educate all lives in Buddha's place. The "Pure Land" of Maitreya in that perspective aims at a "Pure Land" on earth, not that in heaven. *Vimalakirti Nirdesa Sutra* puts it like this: "One who wishes for 'Pure Land' should have a purified heart; where the heart is purified, it is the 'Pure Land' of Buddha." "Pure Land" exists with enlightenment of the heart.

Another Buddhist concept is the "ten worlds," or "ten dharma worlds," which are (1) hell, (2) hunger, (3) animality, (4) anger, (5) humanity, (6) rapture, (7) learning, (8) realization, (9) Bodhisattva, and (10) Buddha.

These ten worlds in fact refer to ten realms or states of mind rather than ten actual worlds; this concept does not imply that, beyond ours, there are other worlds which are for hunger, animality, and so on. They relate to man, who, with the changes of his feeling, may be at one time in hell and at another in heaven. For instance, when he suffers emotional or physical torments, he is in the state of hell; when greedy, in that of hunger; when evil-minded, in that of anger; and when driven by animal nature to overindulge in material pleasures, in that of animality. He is in the state of humanity when calm and peaceful and in that of rapture when pleased by joyful events. Mr. Ikeda Daisaku, the famous Japanese peace movement leader, has a very brilliant expression of his understanding of this. In *Life: from Hell to Buddha* he writes:

> Through speculating upon the ten states we may find a path that will lead people to a more humanitarian life. It is a path to prevent war, environmental and social pollution and social diseases, a path to lead people to the control of their own destinies.

"Buddhism of Human Society," advocated by Mr. Zhao Puchu, the chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, has been accepted in recent years by many Buddhists and Buddhist scholars in China. Its core content is to observe the five rules and ten disciplines to purify the self and to practice the four behaviors and the six pāramitās to bring happiness to other human beings. After all, the idea of "Buddhism of Human Society" is for us to take on the responsibility to create a "Pure Land" on earth by contributing to justice, peace, and happiness in one's own country and around the world.

The human society today is troubled by numerous global problems. In the first place there is still the danger of nuclear war. In addition, there are many other serious challenges, such as economic development, the environment, population, human rights, education, public health, and so on. Faced with so many global problems, Buddhism, with all its mercifulness, should naturally play a part in resolving them and sufferings on earth.

We are well aware that there are complications and intricacies in this world. Therefore, the solving of many difficult issues requires much cooperation of different countries. Owing to different historical traditions and social systems, there are different understandings and viewpoints regarding the same questions. In view of all this, we should work very actively but in the meantime with enough patience. As long as we are persistent in practicing the Buddhist mercy to help mankind, and as long as we endeavor to spread friendship and love among Buddhists and all people in this world, and to increase in all possible ways academic and cultural exchanges among them, we are confident of purifying ourselves and building a “Pure Land” on the earth in the sunshine of Buddhism.

Chapter 12
Foreword to the Chinese Version of A. Doak Barnett's *China's Far West: Four Decades of Change*

A. Doak Barnett, John K. Fairbank, and Robert Scalapino are together called the "Big Three" among America's Sinologists in the *Directory of American Sinologists* published in the 1980s. Luckily enough, I got to know all the three of them at around the same time 17 years ago. At the end of 1981, I was invited by Professor Scalapino to be a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the Institute of East Asian Studies of the University of California at Berkeley. That was my first trip to the United States. The next year, during a visit to Harvard University, I dropped by Professor Fairbank's house. He showed me a room on the second floor of his house and said, "This is the room where your teacher Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng lived when he taught at Harvard from 1947 to 1948." Later, I went to Washington and met Barnett at the Institute of Advanced International Studies (IAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University. At that time, he had just taken up a teaching post there after having been a Foreign Policy Senior Research Fellow at the Brookings Institute.

Barnett was much younger than Fairbank and was also younger than Scalapino by 2 years. When I first met him, he had just turned 61 years old. My first impression of him was that he was extraordinarily energetic and that his eyes were full of scholarly candidness and political resourcefulness. Our first conversation was an extremely agreeable one.

Barnett's father was a missionary as a young man and was a founder of the YMCA in Hangzhou. Barnett himself was born in 1921 in Shanghai of China and did not return to the United States to study until he was 15 years old. He went to Yale University and graduated in 1942, as a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1947–1948, he took graduate studies at Yale. Later, he was awarded several honorary degrees, including an LLD from Franklin and Marshall College, a DLitt from Washington College and a Doctorate of Humane Letters from Monmouth College. He has held many positions in the Institute of Current World Affairs, the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution. He has also held professorships at Columbia University and Johns Hopkins University, where he headed Contemporary China Studies programs. He once served as Special Correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* to

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_12

Hong Kong and the mainland of China, and Southeast Asia. No matter how his career has changed over the years, the main content of his work has always been related to contemporary China. Therefore, he can be rightly called a man who developed a liking for China as a boy.

Between 1947 and 1949, as a fellow of the Institute for Current World Affairs and Correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, Barnett came to do field research in China, including the far-western region (Ningxia, Qinghai, Xikang, Xinjiang, etc.). His mission then was to investigate the situation of China right after the 8-year war against Japanese aggression, and analyze the prospects of the Chinese civil war. At that time, he was only a young man in his late twenties. Forty years later, in 1988, Barnett revisited China's far west, this time, at the age of 68. According to his own calculation, the distance of his second trip added up to as long as 17,500 miles, and covered some 47 big and medium-sized cities in 20 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Among the interviewees, altogether around 800 in number and from all walks of life, were workers, peasants, monks, government officials, college teachers, researchers, and so on. He still kept his old tradition as a correspondent–wherever he went, he carried with him a little notebook and faithfully noted down what he saw and heard, whom he interviewed and when, where, and what they talked about. His second journey to China's far west left him with 44 notebooks like this, full of notes, which later provided first-hand materials for his book–*China's Far West: Four Decades of Change*, the English version of which came out in 1993 in the United States as a 700-page book. It can be imagined how much laudatory applause the book immediately won among America's Sinologists and in the rest of the world.

Since I first met Barnett in 1982, we have always been in touch and have met several more times in Hong Kong and Beijing. When I visited Washington in the winter of 1991, he had already retired and was living in the countryside, writing books. We spent almost 1 h on the phone, discussing Sino–US relations after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. My impression then was that he was still as sagacious and insightful as before, fully perceptive of the changeable situations in the world.

From 1995 to 1996, I was invited as an E. L. Wiegand Distinguished Professor to teach at the Pomona College in California for 1 year. That was my tenth time to visit the United States. Barnett sent me the book from Washington. In the letter that accompanied the book, he expressed his hope that as a man who has devoted his whole lifetime to China studies, he wished to present with all respects this last book of his to the Chinese readers.

I flipped through the pages and was lost in thought. I felt both excited and full of mixed feelings.

China is indeed too big and too complicated. Not only do foreigners find it difficult to get an overall picture of such a country, even as Chinese, our views of China are but fragmentary and incomplete. For instance, when we talk about China's far west, what we tend to say is just that it is an economically backward region, and that the relations between different ethnic groups there are very complicated. But what is the real situation there? Have any changes taken place

there in the past four decades? When we ask an average Chinese these questions, I am afraid that nine out of ten cannot give a clear answer. When we talk about the winding road of China's socialist modernization in the past 50 years, almost everybody automatically thinks of what is called "taking class struggle as the key link," "the Great Leap Forward," "the Cultural Revolution" and so forth, as if all that China has done in the past half a century were either foolish, or wrong, without any single achievement. Needless to say, had it not been for the evil influence of the stubborn disease of "leftism," today's China could not have lagged so behind economically, and the living standard of the people would have been greatly improved much earlier. However, what we really need to ask is: After this quite an unusual half century, has the ancient China thoroughly changed? Compared with the pre-Liberation days, has an ordinary Chinese's physical and spiritual life improved at all? To all these and many other questions, nobody can give a clear, still less persuasive answer. In fact, some people even go so far as to think that the answers to these questions should not be made clear. As can be seen and heard, some stereotyped propaganda and expedient policies always try to inculcate into people's mind the hollow clichés, and forge the impression that everything done in the past 50 years was full of merit. The main reason why such hackneyed propaganda has led to people's aversion is that it is always eulogizing virtues and achievements without giving any substantive materials as proof, especially materials that can form a sharp contrast between the present and the past. The result of such stereotyped propaganda can only do disservice and turn out against the original purpose.

Now, an American scholar, an old man in his 70s, a man who has done China studies in his entire lifetime and yet still claims that he knows very little about China, has presented us the concrete and detailed materials on the contrast between China's far west of today and that of 40 years ago. Facts speak louder than words. I totally agree that "this masterpiece of reporting and analysis is required reading for all those who seek a comprehensive view of grass-roots developments in contemporary China." (Praise for this book by Professor Harry Harding, a well-known young American Sinologist.) For the Chinese, I think it is of even more significance to read this book.

Therefore, I decided to recommend this book to friends in the publication circles of China. Mr. Sun Yingchun, a young editor at the Dongfang Publishing House, with a discerning eye that can tell the canon from the apocrypha, decided to publish this costly, low-sale, and yet assuredly significant book for Chinese readers. The sensible final decision to publish this book in Chinese by the leaders of the Dongfang Publishing House has eventually brought this long-awaited book to Chinese readers.

As for the academic value of this book, I do not think I need to say anything further. The development of social sciences in China cannot depend on hollow preachment, but rather should be based on the groundwork of great quantities of positive research and in the meantime stick to the principle of science. This book is a seek-truth-from-facts work that can be used as an example for this purpose.

Chapter 13
Preface to the Collection of Scalapino's Lectures

13.1 Professor Robert Scalapino and China

It was in December of 1972 that Professor Robert Scalapino, as a member of the board of directors of the National Committee on Sino–US Relations, was invited to pay his first visit to China. It was in this capacity that he came, and it was he who was elected as the first chairman of the Committee. Later, when asked about the founding of this organization, he said that the aim of establishing such a committee was to "support policies that advance the conversation between the US and China, to support taking a reasonable attitude toward China, and to help America get past the shadow of the McCarthy era." The "Ping-pong Diplomacy" of 1971 can be seen as the first icebreaker in Sino–US relations. And indeed it was this Committee that was responsible in the United States for receiving the Chinese delegation of athletes that year. In return, at the end of 1972, China invited members of the board of directors of the Committee to visit China. This was the first time that Professor Scalapino set foot on Chinese soil.

As far back as the end of 1948, Scalapino, who had just received his PhD in political science from Harvard University, had planned to visit Peking University to do some research on Chinese issues and had been offered a scholarship from the American Social Sciences Research Committee to do so. However, at that time China was on the eve of liberation and the American government prohibited American students from coming to China, so Scalapino had to abandon his plans. Time brings great changes, and his youthful dream finally came true 23 years later.

It was in the spring of 1981 that Professor Scalapino first came to Peking University as a guest lecturer. Prior to this invitation, he had visited China twice in 1978 and 1979 after his initial visit in 1972.

From March 12 to May 12 in 1981, under the exchange agreement between Peking University and the University of California at Berkeley, Professor Scalapino

Preface to the *Collection of Lectures given at Peking University by Robert Scalapino*

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_13

was invited to the Department of International Politics (the forerunner of the current School of International Relations) of Peking University as a guest lecturer. He gave 20 lectures in total during his stay. In addition to senior students, postgraduates, and teaching faculty of the Department of International Politics, his audience also included teachers and researchers from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Institute of Modern International Relations, and the Foreign Affairs College. The lectures were most successful, and in particular the question and discussion sessions following his lectures aroused great interest on the part of the students and scholars.

I was dean of the Department of International Politics at that time and hosted the lectures. But in fact it was through my teacher, Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, that I got to know Professor Scalapino.

From 1947 to 1948, Professor Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, a distinguished Chinese political scientist who had once taught at Peking University, was invited to teach "Chinese Government and Politics" at his Alma Mater, Harvard University. At that time, Scalapino was Professor Ch'ien's teaching assistant and they got along very well. In Scalapino's own words, "we interacted exceedingly well." It was because of Professor Ch'ien's encouragement and his promise to be Scalapino's dissertation advisor later on that Scalapino decided to accompany Professor Ch'ien to Peking University for further education at the end of 1948. Although this plan was never realized, he did continue to keep in touch with Professor Ch'ien by letter until the outbreak of the Korean War in 1951. In 1972, when Scalapino first came to China, he met Professor Ch'ien at a reception held by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, but there was no opportunity for a real conversation. It was not until Scalapino visited China for the third time in 1979 that he had the opportunity to visit Ch'ien at home and to have a long talk with him. At that time, he asked Ch'ien to recommend a scholar of Chinese politics to visit and do research in the United States. Ch'ien recommended me. In his letter of recommendation, Ch'ien said that since 1957, during the most difficult period of his life, only a few old friends and students would still keep in touch with him, and I was one of them. So, at the end of 1981 upon Scalapino's invitation, I made my first visit to the United States as a senior guest researcher in the Institute of East Asian Studies at UC Berkeley. Scalapino was then the director of that Institute. Since research in political science had been suspended for 30 years in China, the aim of my first visit to the United States was to examine the development of political science in the West (especially in the United States) over this period.

Scalapino is a person who cherishes friendship and is a man of enormous integrity. And his wife Dee is especially hospitable. Both of them treated me wonderfully. Dee was in her 60s at that time, and she had to use walking sticks because of a handicap caused in an earlier car accident. Even so, she personally drove me more than once along those beautiful streets and boulevards of Berkeley. One could hardly imagine how those tabletop flowers in Beijing such as the fuchsia were transformed into huge flowering trees along the streets of Berkeley. Indeed, Mr. Wu Xiaoling, a distinguished specialist of the history of Chinese civil culture

and also a visiting scholar in Berkeley during that period, believed that Berkeley should be translated into Chinese as *buke bulai*, "a must-see."

Over the past 20 years, each time I visited the United States, if time permitted, I would always go to Berkeley to visit old friends. And Scalapino has come to China even more often, nearly once a year, either for academic activities or stopping by on a visit to other Asian countries. In 1999, after Scalapino celebrated his 80th birthday in Berkeley, he in high spirits led an eight-member family tour group (including the couple themselves and six of their grandchildren) to travel to Tibet.

He was not only the group leader, but since he had himself previously traveled to Tibet more than once, he was also a qualified tour guide.

13.2 Intellectual Communications Between China and the US

All of the meandering details that I have shared above are only meant to give readers a glimpse into the relationship between the writer of this book and China, as well as China's intellectuals. It is his erudition, his open-mindedness, his intellectual honesty, and indeed his personal warmth that have earned him so many friends in Chinese academic circles.

There would be a lot to say about Professor Scalapino were we to attempt to provide a comprehensive introduction to this scholar. In the following paragraphs, however, I just want to touch on one point in particular, that is, his democratic attitude in academic discussions.

As I mentioned earlier, 20 years ago Scalapino gave a series of lectures on Asian issues at Peking University. At that time, he was already an international authority in this area and a trusted advisor to the White House. He not only had extensive knowledge on Asian issues but also had rich experience. We can certainly say that he was no stranger to all of the countries and regions that he referred to in his lectures. Moreover, he had had a certain amount of contact and communication with the highest echelons of officials who represented these areas. Even so, at the lectern he remained approachable rather than aloof. He analyzed and explained complicated political phenomena in a simple and patient way, revealing enormous familiarity with the issues at hand. Indeed his lectures were never limited to pure academic issues or merely theoretical questions, but always had a strong dose of politics. And his lectures certainly aroused heated debate among Chinese students and scholars. The young students would inevitably ask him acute and pointed questions. Since students had little contact with American scholars at that time, they would take Scalapino to be a representative of the US government. Once in class, after his lecture on the events leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War, a student said: "Regardless of who fired the first shot, it was a Korean civil war, so why did you Americans intervene?" Not only did Scalapino not take offence, but further said with a smile: "You are mistaken. The US did not send anyone in. It was

the UN who sent in troops." In late May, as host I was called upon to make a brief summary of the lectures: "In this classroom, it has been most helpful to our mutual understanding and communication to have had a frank exchange of different ideas and opinions. The pursuit of truth is best realized through the equal exchange of divergent opinions. Unfortunately, up to now not many Chinese faculty have been able to do this in their classes. We are grateful to Professor Scalapino who in launching an open discussion in this lecture series has made a good start for us." When I concluded my remarks, he shook my hand and said: "I really do appreciate your comments."

To my knowledge, there are many people who, like myself, have maintained a friendship with Professor Scalapino for many years. Actually, if we think in terms of personal background, including culture, political opinions, national character, and ways of thinking, Scalapino has very little in common with us. How then have we been able to get along so well all these years? I think that two Confucian sayings might provide some explanation here: "Exemplary persons pursue harmony not sameness" and "seek common ground while reserving differences."

These two ancient propositions have at the very least the following three implications:

Firstly, we should recognize the diversity of the world because it is by virtue of unity found in this diversity that the world gets better with the passage of time.

Secondly, we should not be hostile to people who differ in character from us. (In most cases, at least, hostility is not inevitable.) Instead, we should acknowledge and respect the independence of the other party.

Thirdly, we should not impose our opinions upon people who differ in character from us, nor should we dismiss them, but we should try to find things in common in our divergences and strive to develop these to each other's benefit.

These two Confucian precepts in fact express much of our present-day democratic thinking.

Politics and international politics are the research interest that we share in common with Professor Scalapino. In this academic field there is little if any possibility of staying free from government and government policy. In this field, in fact, scholars who hold firmly to a practical approach in their research cannot avoid being influenced by their own political orientation and their tendencies to support particular policies. What is most likely to produce divergences between Professor Scalapino and his Chinese counterparts is the problem of Sino–US relations. Even so, no matter what differences emerge, we still share a lot in common in that we all want Sino–US relations to develop normally and smoothly and, in so doing, advance the cause of world peace.

In the 30 years since the "Ping-pong Diplomacy" opened up a new phase for Sino–US relations, the relationship between the two countries has traveled a rough road. Every kind of contradiction and conflict has arisen to spawn one after another seemingly impending and irremediable crisis. But thanks to the good sense and wisdom of the leaders on both sides, each potential crisis has been averted, often by the narrowest of margins. Of course, the major reason we have been able to overcome these difficulties is the underlying interests of our two countries. We

have exchanged opinions frankly with Professor Scalapino many times concerning these crises. In 1999, when the Chinese embassy in Kosovo was bombed, Scalapino just happened to be in Beijing. Initially the situation was unclear, but we were both shaken by this news and discussed it with real concern. On July 6, 1999, I wrote him a letter explaining my opinion of this incident. I told him frankly that I could not accept the fairy tale of the so-called mistaken military map, and I pointed out the absurdity of the so-called Cox Report at that time. I scathingly rebuked the US government, saying that while the United States accuses China of single-party czarism within its own borders, is it America's intention to realize unilateral czarism in the world as a whole? Ten days later, that is, on July 17, I received Scalapino's letter in response, which said, "I appreciate your frankness in raising these questions and I know that your opinion represents that of most intellectuals today." He continued, saying that, although he had not been privy to more secret information, he found some credibility in the "mistaken bombing" explanation. He said that we should not think that there is nothing wrong with America's high-tech. He also said that the top leaders of the United States were working hard at easing the tensions, and he hoped that Chinese leaders could make efforts in the same direction. He added that what worried him most was the possibility that the anti-American mood of the Chinese people would become increasingly inflamed.

It is just like this. Although we have divergences, we are still able to treat each other with an open mind. Our opinions and explanations about a specific problem may be different, but the important thing is that we both hope Sino–US relations can develop normally.

In the abovementioned letter to him, I wrote:

> Even though we each have our own standpoint and ways of thinking, still I believe that we both agree Sino-US relations must develop normally because this is not only in the interests of Chinese and American people alike, but also will contribute a lot to peace and stability in the entire world. Neither of us want the relationship between China and the US to fall apart.

This is what is meant by "seeking common ground while reserving differences."

Professor Scalapino may not be familiar with these two Chinese sayings, but I greatly appreciate the democratic spirit he expresses when he encounters a dissenting voice. He is able to maintain a cool mind and is never distracted by personal emotion. I have said elsewhere that there are two types of people who must never be driven by emotion: one is the politician and the other, the social scientist. If the former is misled by his emotions, he might precipitate a world crisis; if the latter is misled by his emotions, what he says can only be nonsense. But in the real world, politicians and social scientists who are misled by their personal emotions can be found everywhere, and this is indeed a pity. Those who boast of being democratic should learn the essence of real democracy: respect others, allow others to have opinions different from your own, get along well with others while maintaining your individual preferences, and seek common ground while reserving your differences.

It is only when everybody follows this democratic principle that the world will be able to achieve lasting peace and stability.

Chapter 14
Ch'ien Tuan Sheng: A Patriotic Scholar

Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, a world-renowned political scientist, was among the first few Chinese scholars to engage in the studying and teaching of modern political science. A diligent scholar all his life, he has left behind the most numerous works compared with his peers, with unparalleled academic attainments in the fields of comparative government, history of political institution, and science of constitution. In the study of political science, he was good at marrying theories with the Chinese context. His insightful books about democracy, human rights, centralization and decentralization of power, etc., though written decades ago, remain relevant even today [1]. In 1932, he teamed with Wang Shijie, Pu Xuefeng, Zhou Gengsheng, and others to prepare for the establishment of the China Society of Political Science and Law, which was not set up until after 1949. He served as vice chairman then and was voted honorary chairman in 1980 at the age of over 80, when the association was reestablished after a period of interruption. Age didn't stop him from being committed to the development of political science in China. He continued to publish articles: "The Significance of Political Science" in 1981, "My Suggestions for China's Political Science Development" in 1986,[1] etc.

Professor Ch'ien was a Tsinghua graduate. In 1917, at the age of 18, he was enrolled in the predecessor of Tsinghua University, a preparatory school for students to study in the United States. Two years later, he graduated and went on to study in the United States. After he finished his doctoral courses and dissertation in Harvard, he traveled to Britain, France, Germany, and Austria. It was in Europe

Zhao Baoxu, et al.: *An Anthology in Memory of Ch'ien Tuan Sheng*, China University of Political Science and Law Press, February 2000.

[1] "The Significance of Political Science," *Politics and Political Science*, Qunzhong Press, 1981; "My Suggestion for China's Political Science Development," *Studies of Political Sciences*, Vol. 1, 1986.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_14

that he met Zhou Enlai for the first time.[2] In 1924, he received his doctor's degree from Harvard, returned home, and began to teach in Tsinghua. In 1925, the Tsinghua College Department was set up, where Ch'ien became a professor. He concurrently taught as a professor for Peking University in the spring of 1927, the last year of Cai Yuanpei's presidency. He gave lectures on constitutional law to students from the departments of politics and law. In the autumn of 1927, he left Tsinghua upon the invitation of the National Central University in Nanking (present-day Nanjing) but returned to Tsinghua in 1930, once again teaching at Peking University at the same time. His teaching career was interrupted in January 1934, when he became a full-time editorialist with *Yi Shi Bao*, a newspaper in Tianjin. Eight months later, he took a teaching position at the Central University for a second time.

His official professorship at Peking University began in the summer of 1937. But in less than a week, the Lugouqiao Incident broke out, which ended in Japan's occupation of North China. Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Nankai University moved south via Changsha to Kunming, where the National Southwestern Associated University was established. In the following 8 years, Ch'ien worked there as a Peking University professor, until China's victory in the anti-Japanese War. In 1946, the three abovementioned universities moved back, so did Ch'ien. From 1947 to 1948, he taught at Harvard as a visiting professor[3] and returned to Peking University in the autumn of 1948. After the 1949 national liberation, Ch'ien was appointed a member of the University Administration Committee and dean of the Law School. A major reshuffle of colleges took place all over China in 1952, and the Beijing College of Political Science and Law was founded. Ch'ien was appointed its first dean. So he left Peking University. In 1980, he was again invited by Peking University to teach in the Department of International Politics.

From 1937 to 1952, including the episode in Kunming, Ch'ien was a full-time professor for Peking University for 15 years. It was 15 years of great changes for China and 15 years of revolution and progress for Peking University. Ch'ien Tuan Sheng will be remembered not only as a famous political scientist but also a devoted son of his motherland, whose heart beat doubly hard with the rhythms of

[2] Many of Zhou Enlai's "newsletters from Europe" published in *Yi Shi Bao* were forwarded by Ch'ien Tuan Sheng. Chen Wenqiu [2].

[3] This was his fourth trip to the United States after his graduation in 1924. The previous three trips were:

(a) In the summer of 1937, he accompanied Hu Shi and Zhang Zhongfu in an effort to obtain American assistance for China's war efforts.
(b) By the end of November 1937, he came as a participant in the Institute of Pacific Relations Study Meeting held at Virginia Beach, Virginia. He presented a paper entitled "China's National Unification: Some Political and Administrative Aspects."
(c) In January 1945, he attended the ninth Institute of Pacific Relations Study Meeting, accompanied by Jiang Menglin and Zhang Junmai.

China's ups and downs and whose life eventually merged into the longer and broader life of China.

14.1 Journalist Activities

On September 18, 1931, Japan's invasion of North China aroused national rage. In January 1934, Ch'ien decisively resigned from Tsinghua and worked for *Yi Shi Bao*, a journalist frontier to appeal for national efforts to save China from Japan's fangs. In the next 8 months, he penned a total of 170 editorials.[4]

His writing, sharp and angry, irritated the authorities of the conceding cliques so much that he was forced to leave the newspaper in the autumn of 1934. He took a position in the Central University in Nanking for a second time. During his stay in Nanking, besides lectures and academic writing,[5] he also engaged in political commentary. His "On Sino-Japan Relations" was published in *Zhongguo Xinlun* and "An Account of Sino-Japan Diplomatic Relations" in *Riben Pinglun*.[6]

In the summer of 1937, Ch'ien became a full-time professor of Peking University. But within 1 week of his arrival, the Lugouqiao Incident broke out. He and two other Peking University professors, Hu Shi and Zhang Zhongfu, were sent by the Nanking government to appeal for foreign assistance in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. During the full swing of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Ch'ien's aversion to concession, his 37-year-old vigor fanned by patriotism and nationwide rage, his fluency in foreign languages, his learned eloquence, and his deep understanding of interplaying between nations were more than enough to make him a skillful and firm diplomat. It is a safe bet that his lobbying trip was a successful and fruitful one.

He came back to China in 1938. By that time, Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Nankai University had set up the Southwestern Associated University in Kunming. Ch'ien was a professor of the Department of Political Science and a member of the University Administration Committee. When teaching at the Central University in Nanking, he founded his own Research Office of Administration, which followed him to Peking University in 1937, and was again re-assembled in Kunming and headed by Ch'ien himself.

As an extracurricular engagement, he contributed commentary articles to newspapers and magazines such as *Yunnan Daily*, *Minguo Daily*, and *World Politics* (*Shijie Zhengzhi*). These works included "On Chamberlain's Pacifying Policies"

[4] *A Selection of Ch'ien Tuan Sheng's Academic Works*, Beijing Normal University Press, 1991, p. 698.

[5] He published *The Government of Germany* and *The Government of France* and complied, with his fellow researchers, *A Political History of Republic of China*, which was published by the Commercial Press in 1939.

[6] "On Sino-Japan Relations," *Zhongguo Xinlun*, vol. 2, 1st issue, 1935; "An Account of Sino-Japan Diplomatic Relations," *Riben Pinglun*, Vol. 8, 1st Issue, 1935.

and "On the Future of the War of Resistance,"[7] to name just two. In 1939, Ch'ien joined his colleague, Professor Wang Ganyu, in launching a weekly journal *Jinri Pinglun*. Articles carried in this magazine were mostly written by well-known professors, with emphasis on the Resistance War, the merits of democracy, and the disclosure of Kuomintang's reactionary rule. The magazine had a strong social influence.

In those years, Ch'ien's commentary transcended national borders. He wrote in English for American magazines. Here are a few examples: "Wartime Government in China," "New China Demands," "Do We Need a Post-War International Human Rights Declaration?," "Friendly Cooperation Between China, America, Britain and Russia Is the Foundation for Peace," which appeared, respectively, in *American Political Science Review*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Digest*, and *Pacific Affairs*.[8]

14.2 Southwestern Associated University Period

Since its establishment in March 1938, the Southwestern Associated University had been lauded as a "bulwark of democracy." In August 1945, Japan surrendered. At the end of that month, Mao Zedong went to Chongqing to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek, but the talks were still in limbo on October 1. At that time, ten famous professors from the Southwestern Associated University, namely, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, Zhang Xiruo, Zhou Binglin, Zhu Ziqing, Li Jitong, Wu Zhichun, Chen Xujing, Chen Daisun, Tang Yongtong, and Wen Yiduo, sent a joint petition to Chiang and Mao, appealing for domestic peace and unity.[9] Nine days later, the "Double Tenth Agreement" was signed between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang. But soon enough, Kuomintang reneged and launched a civil war. For them, the "bulwark of democracy" was a major barrier that must be removed.

Hence the "December 1st Massacre."[10] Kuomintang authorities in Yunnan, headed by Li Zonghuang, acting chairman of the provincial government, and Guan Linzheng, commander in chief of the provincial police headquarters, ordered a mob attack against the students in the Southwestern Associated University. Ruffians broke into the university, murdered three students with bayonets and grenades, and a young teacher from neighboring Nanjing High School.

---

[7] "On Chamberlain's Pacifying Policies," *Yunnan Daily*, January 1939; "On Future War of Resistance," *Minguo Daily*, July 1939.

[8] "Wartime Government in China," *American Political Science Review*, April 1942; "New China Demands," *Foreign Policy*, July 1943; "Do We Need a Post-War International Human Rights Declaration?," *International Digest*, August 1943.

[9] *A History of Southwestern Associated University*, Peking University Press, 1996, p. 462.

[10] Ibid., p. 463.

Professors and students alike were grieved and indignant. The next morning, professors convened and set up a law committee to study legal procedures for litigation.[11] Committee members included five professors, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng, Zhou Binglin, Fei Qing, Yan Shutang, and Zhao Fengjie, and two teaching assistants from the Law Department.

Ch'ien was a patriot with integrity and a strong sense of justice. Though at the time he did not know much about the Communist Party, he threw himself into the fierce political battle, supporting democracy and progress and opposing dictatorship and degeneration. In the face of intimidation, threats, or even dangers to his life, he was unswervingly staunch in his principles and upright in his actions. He and his progressive colleagues rose to an urgent challenge, stood side by side with young students, and supported and encouraged them.

14.3 Post Liberation Period

In the summer of 1946, the Southwestern Associated University was disassembled, with Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Nankai University returning to their original places. Ch'ien Tuan Sheng remained a professor of political science at Peking University. His student Wang Tieya, an expert in international law, became director of the Department of Political Science; another student of his, Lou Bangyan, an administration expert, was appointed director of the administration research and teaching office. In October 1947, Ch'ien was invited by Harvard to be a visiting scholar for 1 year. He worked in the Harvard Institute for International Development, where he gave lectures about "the Government and Politics of China,"[12] the English transcript of which was published in 1950 by Harvard University.

Meanwhile, he continued to write articles, condemning the crimes committed by the Kuomintang. "The Role of the Military in Chinese Government"[13] was one example.

He watched closely the development of the civil war and rejoiced at his prediction about the birth of a new China. His American friends, on the other hand, were less optimistic. When his lectures concluded in the late summer of 1948, many of his fellow scholars tried to persuade him to stay, and he was given an offer to teach in another renowned university. But he had made a decision, and that was to come back.

By the end of 1948, the Kuomintang's failure on the mainland was a foregone conclusion. Its government scrambled to seize not only the gems and treasures kept in the Palace Museum but also human resources from the capital. Being in such

[11] Ibid., p. 467.

[12] *The Government and Politics of China 1912–1949*, Harvard University Press, 1950.

[13] "The Role of the Military in Chinese Government," *Pacific Affairs*, November 1948.

deep waters itself, the Kuomintang had only enough time to make a short list of people they intended to steal away. Ch'ien Tuan Sheng was on the list. For those eager to flee the mainland, this offered a valuable opportunity and an air ticket to go with it, but not for Ch'ien. He declined the "kindness" without hesitation. Well, this was not difficult to understand. If Ch'ien had wanted to flee, he wouldn't have come back from the United States in the first place.

One can't jump to the conclusion that someone as upright and patriotic as Ch'ien must have, from the very beginning, a deep understanding of the Communist Party and what it was fighting for. Over the years, Ch'ien must have been aspiring and dreaming to contribute to the rejuvenation of China but was increasingly disillusioned by the doings of the Kuomintang government. In his perplexity and quest, he saw the practical approach of the Communist Party and its true concern for the Chinese people. He was convinced that the leadership of the Communist Party was just what China needed to become democratic and prosperous and just what he himself wanted to accomplish. An American scholar made the following remarks about Ch'ien:

> Ch'ien did not flee from Peking in 1949 but instead supported the creation of the People's Republic. His reasons for remaining behind were not exclusively public-spirited for, in addition to his reputation as a scholar, Ch'ien was known in pre-1949 China as a person with moderate political ambitions. It may be surmised that his decision to remain on the mainland was motivated by the private hope of playing a larger part in the future political life of the country. [3]

On March 9, 1949, at the dawn of national liberation, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng wrote a letter to his long-time friend John K. Fairbank, a Harvard professor. He said, "As a Chinese who wants to adapt himself to the changing times, I sincerely admire the creators of the new order, although I myself. . . be misunderstood" [3].

Shortly after he returned from the United States, Ch'ien acquired, from underground Communists in Peking, a lot of documents and papers issued in the liberated areas. By the time he wrote "I sincerely admire the creators of the new order," he already had more understanding of the Communist Party of China. His belief in the Communist Party as a leader and a savior made him a staunch supporter of the Party. And once he made a decision on an issue of great consequence, he would go all out. That's why he actively took part in postliberation activities and meetings held by the Communist Party and entered into the spring of his political career at the age of 50.

In the early years after liberation, he made active cooperative efforts to assist the new government in school administration and protect revolutionary students. He played a constructive role in maintaining good order in Peking University.

In 1954, he participated in the drafting of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of China, as a consultant on the Constitution Drafting Committee, under the National People's Congress (NPC). He contributed tremendous efforts in the drafting process. Meanwhile, he was elected vice chairman of the China Society of Political Science and Law, a representative of the first NPC, vice chairman of the NPC Law Committee, as well as a member of the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Later he became a member of the standing

committee of the second CPPCC. With his multiple titles and positions, he made important and indelible contributions to China's political, legal, cultural, and educational development.

In the field of foreign affairs, he served as vice chairman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and an active participant in foreign exchanges. In 1952, he took part in the third Chinese People's Goodwill Trip to North Korea as head of the first division. In the same year, he attended the World Peace Conference in East Berlin and was elected a member of its board of directors. In 1955, he led a delegation of the Chinese Academy of Science to India to attend the 42th Indian Science Congress. There Ch'ien gave a thematic report on New China's Constitution. During his stay, he met with Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. Shortly afterward, he went to Karachi and attended the seventh session of Pakistan's Science Promotion Conference. In June, he flew to Helsinki and took part in the World Assembly for Peace. In the spring of 1956, he joined the Chinese delegation, led by Liu Ningyi, to participate in a special session of World Peace Conference in Stockholm. At the same time, he received many foreign guests in Beijing. In November 1955, the All Japan Constitutional Coalition Delegation, headed by former Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama, visited China. Ch'ien was asked to receive them and host a reception banquet in their honor. The two parties, China and Japan, announced a joint communique, the signing ceremony of which was attended by leaders of the Party and the State alike, including Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De. In October 1956, Ch'ien received Clement Attlee, leader of the British Labor Party and former Prime Minister, and he accompanied Attlee to visit other Chinese cities as well [2].

In the spring of 1957, Ch'ien paid a friendly visit to Sri Lanka, his last trip abroad. After that visit, he was wrongly classified as a "rightist" in the "Anti-Rightist Campaign" and was repeatedly denounced and humiliated. Later in the 10-year Cultural Revolution, he was again cruelly persecuted. "China had followed the leftist line for at least 20 years," Deng Xiaoping was once quoted as saying.[14] In those 20 "leftist" years, the patriotic scholar had suffered the insufferable. Yet his faith in the Communist Party never wavered for a second, and his love for the country, the people, and the lifelong study of political science was as strong as ever. Lu You, a patriotic poet of the Song Dynasty, had a poem written about plum blossoms, the last two lines of which read: "Even when buried into mud and reduced to dust/Their fragrance still remains." On his 80th birthday, I presented him with a plum flower painting by myself, on which I wrote, "The coldness of the snow multiplies the fragrance." Ch'ien received it with much delight.

After the conclusion of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC, the Party righted past wrongs and set much store by Ch'ien's contributions. At a senior age, he passionately participated in the

[14] "Since the second half of 1957, we had strayed away from the guidelines of the Eighth National Congress of the Party. The leftism lasted till 1976, almost for 20 years." *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3, pp. 253, 254.

promotion of China's democratic and legal development and the implementation of the reform and opening-up policy.

At the time, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng was elected a representative of the sixth NPC, a member of the NPC Standing Committee, chairman of the NPC Law Committee, legal advisor for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consultant for the Institute of International Studies under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a member of the standing committee of the central council of the China Democratic League, honorary chairman of the China Society of Political Science and Law, honorary chairman of China Law Society, consultant for the China Society of International Law, honorary chairman of the Western Returned Scholars Association, professor of Peking University, professor of China Foreign Affairs College, and honorary research fellow of the Law Institute of Nankai University.

In the 20 years of "leftist" policies, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng suffered the same pain and loss with many of his fellow scholars, with the vast majority of the Chinese people and, above all, China as a nation. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC, Ch'ien recovered his brilliance as a bright star in China's academic community. In this way, his life had risen and fallen but never far away from the trails of his motherland, for he had tied the fate of his own to that of China.

14.4 Last Years

On February 24, 1986, the 60th anniversary of Ch'ien's teaching career was celebrated. It was a huge event, jointly initiated by Peking University, China Foreign Affairs College, the Institute of International Studies under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the China University of Political Science and Law, the Chinese Association of Political Science, the China Law Society, and the China Society of Foreign Affairs. About 350 people participated, including vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee Peng Chong and Lei Jieqiong, foreign ministers Wu Xueqian (1982–1988) and Qian Qichen (1988–1998), Minister of Justice Zou Yu, as well as famous scholars such as Chen Hansheng, Huan Xiang, Zhou Peiyuan, Zou Dang, and Homer J. Livingston, Professor Emeritus in Political Science of the University of Chicago. These distinguished guests spoke highly of Ch'ien's personal merits, academic achievements, and important contributions to the theories and practices of political science and law. On that day, 86-year-old Ch'ien had a wonderful time, not least because, after 30 years of ups and downs, he was finally awarded the highest honor ever earned by a Chinese political scientist.

Two months later, I went to Buenos Aires, capital of Argentina, for an academic meeting. On my way back, I stopped by the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Robert Scalapino, director of the Institute of East Asian Studies, once a student of Ch'ien's at Harvard, held a reception for me. There I described the spectacular gathering at Ch'ien's 60th teaching anniversary. I also mentioned an article written in 1961 by Chalmers A. Johnson, a professor of political science at

the University of California, Berkeley, which gave an account of Ch'ien's sufferings in 1957. My remarks were: "It was a thorough description of Ch'ien's scholarly personality and his unearned suffering. But it was written too soon, covering only the first half of Ch'ien's life as a patriotic scholar. I suggest that Mr. Johnson write a sequel." "Ch'ien said himself that he would share the same fate with his beloved motherland. He partook in his country's years of misfortune, which was his and China's to bear. But everything has changed, our country has found a path toward a bright future, and Ch'ien has recovered his name and place. The Chinese people will always remember him, all the more because he is working hard till this very day, making progress with his fellow countrymen, to build a better future for China!"

On January 21, 1990, Ch'ien Tuan Sheng died of illness in Beijing. He was 90 years old. On February 15, a pre-burial ceremony was held at the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery, attended by national leaders Qian Qichen, Lei Jieqiong, Wang Hanbin, as well as his friends, colleagues, and students from all over the world. Wreaths, elegiac couplets, and mourners that crowded the cemetery witnessed the fall of a star.

Before the ceremony, a pamphlet about the life of Ch'ien was distributed, which read: "Ch'ien Tuan Sheng was a man of integrity, diligence, austerity, modesty, and affability. He dedicated his whole life to academic teaching and research, with significant contributions to the development of political science, law and education in China. He was an outstanding scholar and a model among his colleagues. With his decease, China has lost one of the finest minds in the academic and educational community, but he will live on in our fond memory."

References

1. Wang Zisong. (1994). Naivety of a political scientist. *Reading*, *6*, pp. 15–23
2. Chen Wenqiu. *Chronicle of Ch'ien Tuan Sheng's Life* (printed). Tianjin: Nankai University.
3. Johnson C. A. (1961, April–June). An intellectual weed in the socialist garden: The case of Ch'ien Tuan Sheng. *The China Quarterly*, No. 6, 35.

Chapter 15
Professor Wang Tieya As I Know Him

In 1946, 1 year after our victory in the Anti-Japanese War, Professor Wang Tieya gave up his position at the Central University, which had just moved from Chongqing to Nanjing (then the capital of the Kuomintang government). At the invitation of Peking University, he arrived in Beijing by the end of that year and was appointed professor and dean of the Political Science Department. During the Anti-Japanese War, Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Nankai University moved to Kunming City of Yunnan Province and united into one—the Southwest Associated University, where I was an undergraduate. After China's victory in the War, the three universities were moved back.

So by the fall of 1946, I was a third-year undergraduate student of the Political Science Department of Peking University. In the spring of 1947, I took "Study on Treaty" as an elective course taught by Professor Wang Tieya. This was the first time I took any of Professor Wang's courses. I graduated in 1948 and became an assistant at the Political Science Department of Peking University. There was a regulation of Peking University requiring a first-year assistant to serve also as the assistant of the departmental office at the same time. So, I have been closely associated with Professor Wang since then, learned about his character and scholarly research, and gained a lot of benefit from his wisdom. In 1952, the new government decided to readjust the national higher education system. All teachers and students of the Political Science Department of Peking University, except Professor Wang and me, moved to the newly established Beijing College of Political Science and Law. Professor Wang was asked to teach International Relations in the History Department of Peking University. After the reestablishment of the Law Department of Peking University in 1954, he moved to the new department and taught the course of international law. I, having been appointed a lecturer of Peking University by then, moved to the newly established Marxism-Leninism Teaching and Research Section of Peking University and taught

Article published in the *Journal of the History of International Law*, Vol. 4, 2002.

© Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd and Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg 2014, B. Zhao, *To Build a Harmonious World*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-662-43853-4_15

a course called "Marxist Political Theory." Since both of us worked in Peking University, we were in close association with each other for many decades. Both of us experienced all the political movements of Peking University. So I dare to say that I know a lot about Professor Wang—the world-renowned scholar in international law and history of international relations and the author of many books.

Professor Wang Tieya was born on July 6, 1913, in Fuzhou City of Fujian Province. In 1929 he graduated from the First Middle School of Fuzhou City and became an undergraduate of the English Language Department of Fudan University in Shanghai. In 1930, he moved to the Political Science Department of Fudan. In 1931, he moved to the Political Science Department of Tsinghua University. And in 1933, he received the Bachelor's Degree of Law from Tsinghua University. In 1936, he graduated from the Graduate School of Tsinghua University and received the Master's Degree of Law. In the same year, he went abroad and did advanced studies at the London School of Political Science and Economics. In 1939, just before the breakout of the European War, he returned to his motherland where he was appointed professor of the Political Science Department of Wuhan University (at Leshan County of Sichuan Province then). He taught courses on international law and diplomatic history at Wuhan University. Two years later, he transferred to teach at the Political Science Department of the Central University (in Chongqing City then). Since 1946, he has been teaching at Peking University. He became a professor in 1940. Since then, six decades have passed. For 60 years he has imparted knowledge to and educated people in several universities. He has students everywhere; many of whom have become famous scholars or diplomats at home and abroad. During these 60 years, he has assiduously written books to expound his doctrine; his achievements in treaty and marine law are regarded as treasures by the academic community.

Since Professor Wang Tieya's contributions to the study of international law and the history of international relations are widely known, I will concentrate on his contributions to the development of Chinese political science, which are not so well known.

15.1 Science Heritage of Ancient China Is Abundant

Political science was introduced into China during the period of Constitutional Reform and Modernization in the last years of the Qing Dynasty. Political science was taught in the Capital Academy, the predecessor of Peking University, since 1903. Professor Wang studied political science as an undergraduate and graduate student and served in political science departments of several universities since 1939. In 1946, he was appointed director of the Political Science Department of Peking University. He was only 33 years old then. The deepest impression he created was that he lived by the principles of "free ideology and all-inclusive"—the guideline for Peking University put forward by Professor Cai Yuanpei, the renowned former president of Peking University. Among the courses taught by the

Political Science Department, there were some nontraditional ones. For instance, "Social Theory" taught by Professor Xu Deheng was mainly about the social system of Marxism; "Political Theory" taught by Professor Wu Enyu—a student of Harold Laski's—included an introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*; the course on the Soviet Government was a new course for political science. As to the relationship between political science and political reality, Professor Wang gave a definite answer: political science and political reality are interrelated, he said, but not the same. He maintained that research in political science must be practical, realistic, and scientific. Political essays are necessary in reality, but they are not equal to theses of political science.

Professor Wang Tieya has also been contributing to the Chinese Association of Political Science. This Association was set up in 1932 to unite China's scholars in the study of political science, to undertake scholarly communications, and to promote the development of Chinese political science. At the 4th Annual Conference of the Association in 1942, Professor Wang was elected a member of its standing committee. In 1952, political science and law were merged into one discipline, following the example of the Soviet Union, and the Association of Political Science and Law of China was established; Professor Wang was elected a member of its standing committee. In 1980, the Chinese Association of Political Science was reestablished and Professor Wang was appointed a consultant, a position he still holds.

Since China adopted the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world more than 20 years ago, Professor Wang Tieya has been exceedingly active. He set up the Institute of International Law of Peking University and held the post as director of the Institute. In addition he held such posts as president of Chinese Society of International Law; editor-in-chief of the Chinese Annual of International Law; concurrently professor of the Chinese Academy of Political Science and Law, Foreign Affairs College (present-day China Foreign Affairs University), and Nankai University; concurrently senior research fellow of the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; vice-president of the Chinese UN Association; and consultant of the Chinese Marine Association and the Chinese International Relations History Association. In 1983, he was elected a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). In 1985, he was appointed a member of the Basic Law Drafting Committee of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

At the same time, Professor Wang participated in many overseas academic activities. As the legal advisor of the Chinese delegation, he attended the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in Geneva and New York in 1989. He attended academic meetings in Canada, Hague, Seoul, Tokyo, and elsewhere and taught in quite a few universities in the United States and Canada. In 1990, he became the visiting professor of L'Institut de Droit International in The Hague of the Netherlands—the supreme International Law University of the world. He was the first Chinese visiting scholar of the institute.

Professor Wang received many international honors. He was elected associate member of L'Institut de Droit International and a full member not long after. He

was the first Chinese scholar who gained the honor since its establishment more than 200 years ago. In 1985, he was elected academician of the World Academy of Arts and Science, the first Chinese academician to be elected. In 1988, he won the honorary title of "Celebrated Scholar in International Law" awarded by the Fund of Building International Criminal Court. In 1998, at the age of 85, he was appointed judge of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. He went to The Hague in the summer of that year and continues to make his contributions in world justice and world peace.

It is an honor for me to be a student of Professor Wang Tieya. In the following paragraphs, I will say something about my impressions of his academic work.

First of all, Professor Wang attaches special importance to the need to combine theory and practice. He studied both international law and diplomatic history as a student, and when he taught in universities he taught courses in international law, history of international relations, and diplomatic history. As he is familiar with diplomatic history, he can integrate historical practice with international law in his course on international law. When he taught diplomatic history, he usually commented on historical issues by the criterion of law. There is a Chinese saying, "on the basis of facts, and by the criterion of law"; Professor Wang fully deserves this description. It is a fundamental principle of Marxism and the consistent style of the Communist Party of China, but it is not so easy to abide by the principle in reality. When the political atmosphere changes frequently, some scholars are liable to make empty talk and lose contact with reality, or even bend with the wind.

Secondly, Professor Wang is a stickler for high standards in research: He adheres to the principles of scientism and seeking truth from facts. He has been strict in study and research and scrupulous about every detail since his youth. His writings are always solidly based and all data are carefully checked before being used in his writing. Professor Wang collects data extensively, analyzes it carefully, and uses only the most important elements in his writings. So every thesis in his writings is built on solid foundations.

To seek truth from facts is an ideal; it is not easy to be as good as one's word. Both courage and insight are necessary. Only with insight can a scholar differentiate truth from error; only with courage can a scholar stick to the truth. Such scholars are not obsequious to superiors but only to the truth. They are the backbone of the academic community and the backbone of our country as well. Professor Wang Tieya is such a scholar.